

# ANTIFASCISM IN CANADA



This pamphlet has been put together to detail some of the recent history of fascist activity and resistance to it in Canada. Another pamphlet is currently in the works which will encompass North America as a whole and will include material from contacts in the US. Please forward any contributions and information to us.

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from us at the cost of \$5 each, postage-paid (Institutions: \$15 / Overseas: \$6). Contact us for distribution rates.

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### What is Antifa Forum and why?

Antifa Forum is an info-group which collects and disseminates information and analysis on fascist activity. Our emphasis highlights the resistance to this activity and influence. Naturally, the aim is to build anti-fascist politics into our assessment of the ground-level situation across North America, particularly in relation to our own stomping grounds which have long been an organisational centre for the fascists in Canada. Upon reading the bulk of 'anti-fascist' information literature currently available in North America, one gets the impression that the fascists are unstoppable. This is ridiculous. The limited success of the extreme right merely represents the potential for radical influence to take hold and thrive under certain conditions of political and economic strife. The building of real resistance and working towards influencing proper left-wing alternatives to the false solutions of the extreme right are part of what we see stemming from this basic level of education and spread of ideas.

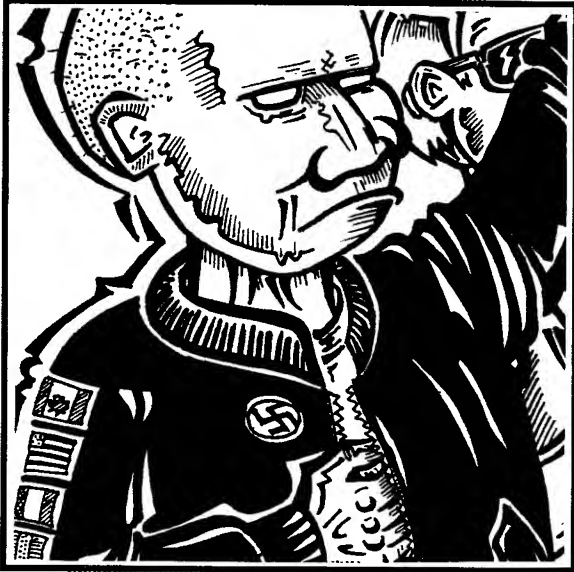
We don't believe that setting up talking-shops replaces action. Fascist organisers in North America, currently voicing themselves through well-funded propaganda outlets such as the Resistance Records project, have made considerable attempts to move their operations into the mainstream throughout the past couple of years. In doing so, they have decided against publicly offering themselves up as potential targets for anti-fascists during the present time. Increasingly, we are seeing these moves on their behalf to shirk confrontations today in order to properly build the youth-based support they'll need for the inevitable clashes of tomorrow. During this phase, anti-racists and anti-fascists should be actively building their own strategies and political influence to counter the influence of right-wing propaganda on all levels.

### Building a network of supporters....

At the current stage, we are building on our existing resources and contacts to widen our scope of influence and effectively network with a number of grassroots organisations who conduct the same level of work. In Canada, we work alongside the Vancouver-based Anti-Fascist info as well as some independent anti-fascists further to the east of us. We are also developing contacts south of the border into the US and across the way into Britain and Europe. Our efforts are published in the form of the written word and ever-increasingly over the Internet. In particular, we have a working relationship with the Anti-Fascist Info Bulletin (AFIB) a weekly information service and we maintain our own website.

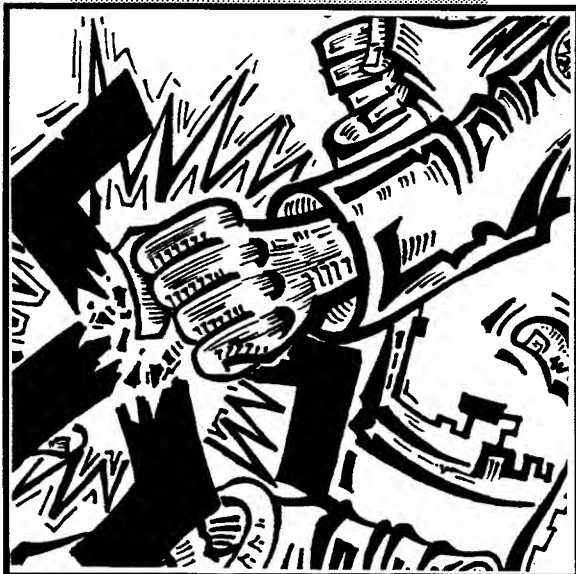
### ....and ending the isolation of militants.

The prime aim in setting up this project is to create a forum by which to bridge the gap between various anti-fascist militants and their groupings and end the isolation which currently exists, particularly in Canada. If you have information regarding fascist activity and antifascist resistance in your area, do get in touch with us at our address.



*Page 4.....A View From The Streets* - An assessment of the recent history of the utilisation of youth within the resurgent strain of fascist organising in Canada, charting also the course of anti-fascist youth who have been quick to bring up the rear-guard on the streets.

*Page 24.....The Canadian State and the Extreme Right* - A detailed look into how the Canadian state and law enforcement agencies have encouraged and collaborated with fascist, racist, and anti-communist tendencies to maintain their own interests, complete with an historical overview of this alliance across Canada and the US.



*Page 36.....On The Prowl* - An article which appeared in the Fall of 1993 which documents the successful first year of an anti-racist organisation which came together to effectively combat fascist organising and activity in the Toronto area. This reprint speaks to the need for building strategies to counter the influence of fascism today.

# The Neo-Nazi Street Scene In Canada

## A VIEW FROM THE STREETS OF TORONTO

The mainstay of extreme-right organisations and the fascist ideologies they espouse, relies on a foothold or base of support within the various sectors and strata of white society. Sometimes this support comes from the older war-time generation of middle class whites who succumb to fringe-right groups, fed by half-truths and reactionary propaganda on issues relating to immigration and crime statistics. But more often than not, the most vital source of life for the extreme right is the recruitment of white youth to swell the ranks and take up future leadership positions within the movement. The strictly-controlled energy of militant 'street agitation' is something which the extreme right aims to harness and guide towards conditions which they hope will usher in the fascist agenda. As well, the utilization of youth in the perpetration of violent and criminal activity keeps the older, key-players and organizers of the fascist movement out of prison while the younger members and first-time offenders get away with a slap on the wrist. The most outward expression of this, and one which we have again witnessed a resurgence of, is the relationship between the extreme right and indoctrinated youth groups.

The purpose of this document is to provide a structured overview of the existing neo-Nazi street-scene and its history in the Toronto, Ontario area. While the emphasis is on Toronto, an organizing centre for the extreme right in Canada, reference is also made to the history and situation across Canada in relation to the worldwide scene. This contributes to a coherent understanding of who they are, what their influences are, who they work with, where they've been and where they think they're headed.



as the reasons for economic strife. When *The Business* played in Southall in 1981, local Asian youth facing crowds of Sieg-heiling fascists, burned the pub to the ground. The *British Movement*, an unabashedly neo-Nazi organization in existence at the time, swelled its ranks with fascist skinheads and racist football fans who became the muscle and mainstay of the movement. The *4-Skins*, a British Oi band, were backed by a manager who was an ex-British Movement member. British Movement organizer and 'youth-director', Nicky Crane appeared on the cover of the "*Strength Thru Oi*" record album.

By the late 70's, the original skins were a rare breed. Having had their cultural identity stolen and twisted by the fascists, most white skinheads became manipulated by or impartial towards the extreme right. The blame for this must also fall at the feet of the left, who unlike the fascists, failed to realize the potential of working-class youth. Anti-racist skinheads still exist today throughout Europe and North America in the form of scattered groupings like *SHARP* (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) and *RASH* (Red Anarchist Skinheads). The *SHARP* breed of 'non-racist' skinhead, although fashionably unorganized and unpoliticized in Canada, sourced its inspiration from the various American manifestations of anti-fascist skinhead groupings and the

### Skinheads or Boneheads?

The Skinhead phenomenon was born in Britain in the late-sixties as a working-class movement of dock-workers and other white youth who were culturally united with Jamaican and other West Indian youth. Their hard mod styles did away with the smart suits and opted for the rugged look of the boots and braces with a preference for closely-cropped hair or shaven heads. Frequenting the various booze-cans and blues parties throughout working-class areas in London, these white youth caught up with the latest sounds and styles in the company of Black youth. These 'Two-tone' skinheads listened to reggae, ska and, progressively, 'Oi' music, influenced in part by punk rock in the 70's, but with more of a street-edge.

The scene changed drastically when a slump in the British economy, combined with the economic exploitation of immigrant labour, led to a government-induced lack of work for many whites. Although many Oi bands gave voice to the frustrations of youth with songs like "Jobs not Jails" (*The Gonads*) and "Employers Blacklist" (*The Business*), the emergence of fascist skinhead bands made their perverted impact on the scene as right-wing organisations and parties the ilk of the *National Front* sought to harness the angry energy and the minds of these disaffected white youth. Red laces in the boots of a skinhead came to signify the NF mark of association as the 'white-power' anthems of *Skrewdriver*, *No Remorse* and *Brutal Attack* targeted Asian and Black immigrants

Redskins from Europe.

In the mid-to-late-eighties the media created intense hype around the 'issues' of skinheads. In North America, particularly in the United States, fascist skinhead violence was escalating dramatically. German re-unification at the tail end of the eighties gave birth to a sizably-powerful youth-based movement in the fascist tradition of postwar defense



for 'National Socialism'. The nineties have seen a comeback for Canada's fascist skinheads who are in some cases, becoming more organized and self-organized under the influence of their American and European counterparts.

#### The Backstreets of Toronto

At the tail end of the eighties Toronto was home to several-hundred skinheads, for the most part non-politicized street youth who were loosely organized into territorial gangs. The most well-known groupings included the Yonge and Isabella Skins, the WEBBs (West End Boot Boys), and the Scarborough Skins. Of these gangs, the WEBBs held claim to being the most notoriously fascistic. The main tendency within factions such as the WEBBs was a strong sense of pride for the white race, warped around a working class ideology inspired and imported from the British skinhead movement. Most were vocally opposed to non-white immigration and actively involved themselves in 'queer-bashing'. These skins were also staunchly anti-communist. In 1987, thirty skinheads of this ilk protested for Black Ribbon Day with the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee and other anti-reds outside Massey Hall

to denounce a performance by the Red Army Dancers.

The Canadian Defense Skinheads were another rabidly-racist grouping of boneheads from Toronto and the surrounding area who were one of the most active on the streets during this time. Consisting of roughly two-hundred members, mostly situated in downtown Toronto and Mississauga, the CDS was notorious for its violent assaults on street youth and people of colour. To be initiated into the group, members were required to beat up a Black man and come

back to the group with proof of the deed. This proof usually came in the form of a criminal record of arrest. The CDS provided an 'inner circle' of protection for boneheads who were on the run and held superficial ties with Aryan Unity and the Northern Defense grouping in Edmonton. Today, the bulk membership of groups like the Canadian Defense Skins are either inactive or spending time behind bars, although some of its active players moved into currently-existing extreme-right organizations including the Heritage Front.

Most skinheads were initially attracted to the romanticized violence that seemed to be the mainstay of the movement. Gang rivalry peaked with a counter-force, street-punk grouping known as the BFGs (Bunchofuckingoofs) who based themselves in Kensington Market. Tensions between the boneheads and these, their most dedicated opponents, increased following the brutal rape and murder of a punk woman by two skinheads.

On the day of the trial, the accused, James Harbottle and his skinhead accomplice, appeared in the press with the trademark BFG mohawk-styled haircut, adding

insult to injury. The BFGs, although a sizably-powerful street force in their time, contained some neo-Nazi elements within their ranks. On the flipside, some driving anti-fascist elements within the gang went on to continue anti-Nazi work. Other street gangs which existed at the time, such as the *Untouchables*, consisted of a broad ethnic makeup. And, despite the rivalry between their various factions, these black, latino, and white youth gangs shared a bitter hatred of their common enemy, the skinheads. A May 22, 1989 *Macleans* cover article noted that these right-wing skinheads had resorted to keeping a low profile as a result of multiplied hostilities from these various other gang memberships.

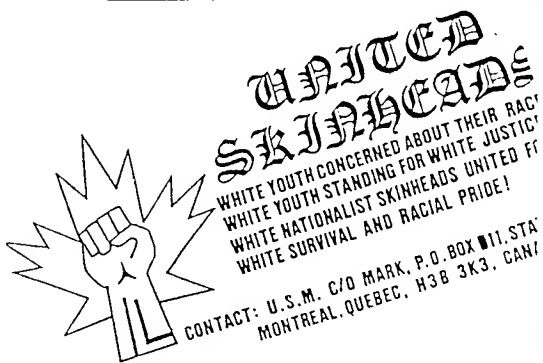
Since a large percentage of the skinheads were living on the street, they tended to regard their groupings, which was essentially all they had, as 'family'; a family that they would be loyal to and do anything for. This made them extremely vulnerable to fascist sympathizers and organizers who came along, cared for them and offered them a sense of belonging, under the pretext of recruiting them into the 'scene'. Throughout the heyday of the skinhead gang activity, a small Nazi-boutique existed on Queen Street known as 'Bulldog Boy'. This shopfront openly sold neo-Nazi records and paraphernalia in addition to its stock of mod/skinhead fashions. This location was the major hangout for factions such as the WEBBs and the

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Canadian Defense Skinheads, infamously regarded as a place to keep relatively wary of. But for up-and-coming skinheads, places like

this offered shelter and fostered a sense of belonging. Bulldog Boy was soon replaced by another store of the same stripe.....IXL. This store, established in the same locale, took over where Bulldog Boy left off and remained an organizing and recruiting point for the neo-Nazi street scene.



### Fascist Footsoldiers Across Canada

As Canada's skinheads drifted further to the right, the organized fascists took note of their potential and began to organize them within existing extreme-right organizations. This was most actively initiated in the regions and surrounding areas of Southern Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia.

Extreme-right leadership in Toronto began tapping into the energies of fascist skinheads following a cross-border visit from DASH (Detroit Area Skinheads), who participated in a C-FAR[1] meeting in the fall of 1988. At this meeting, which was primarily comprised of the older generation of wartime fascist sympathisers, DASH representatives accentuated the importance of youth, and in particular skinheads, within the extreme-right framework. Although not as concentrated, fascist youth organizing was going on in Canada prior to this pivotal meeting. In 1984 for example, CASH (Chicago Area Skinheads), or 'Romantic Violence' as they were known in Toronto, set up a post office box to sell and distribute t-shirts and fascist propaganda. Across the country,

groups with names like Skinheads for National Socialism began to spring up and in many cases, these groups were tightly-knit within broader far-right organizations. Wolfgang Droege, former Klan organizer and Nationalist Party member (actively organizing today in the Heritage Front), met with and spoke for the Canadian Defense Skinheads on a number of occasions. In efforts to campaign for an all-white Canada, Don Andrews made a real effort to attract skinheads to the NP (Nationalist Party)[2] A 1988 *Toronto Sun* Article entitled "Young Face of Racism" reported that NP members were regularly holding 'teach-ins' with up to 70 skinheads". Peter Mitrevski, an organizer for the Heritage Front in Toronto's East end today, was one of those skinheads. In 1989, Paul Fromm (C-FAR coordinator and school teacher) held a Dominion Day Celebration with a contingent of Toronto skins.



Heritage Front Class of '89: Nationalist Party group photo circa 1989

In July of 1989 a "Save Our Canada Day Festival" took place in Minden organized by John Beattie, former head of the *Canadian Nazi Party*. Roughly one-hundred participants, including the skinheads were in attendance, a third of them from Quebec. Festivities at this event included a cross-burning. Notably, Don Andrews and John Beattie were at the frontlines of skinhead recruitment geared towards their plans at developing a

cross-Canada network of local or regional coalitions. Their broad-based approach as a 'unifying body' served to gain them many such recruits. John Ross Taylor of the *Western Guard Party* (WGP) held standing with the fascist skins of Montreal through the Montreal-based PUNC (Parti de l'Unité Nationale du Canada).



A fascist skinhead magazine entitled "*Canada Awake!*" was a vital organ in the effort to create this broad-based movement which hoped to tie together the various youth factions. Produced by Mark Bauer, an ARM (Aryan Resistance Movement) skinhead in Ottawa, a long with various skins in Ottawa and Montreal, this publication voiced itself as



# SAVE OUR CANADA DAY FESTIVAL<sup>89</sup>

ATTENTION: WHITE KINSMEN AND SKINHEADS  
SATURDAY, JULY 1 AND SUNDAY, JULY 2  
AT  
MILES NORTH - THE WHITE MAN'S MISSION, NEAR MINDEN, ONTARIO

TWO DAY RALLY, SHOW AND CAMP OUT  
SKINHEAD  
BANDS:

CROSS  
AND  
CYCLONE

PLUS OTHER BANDS, SPEAKERS AND LECTURES  
FROM CANADIAN AND AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

the outlet for all 'White Nationalists'. Its editorial gave thanks to the contributions of a variety of fascist organizations and leadership including, CASH, Don Andrews, Terry Long of Aryan Nations (U.S.), and Tom Metzger of White Aryan Resistance (WAR - U.S.). The premier issue of 'Canada Awaken!' featured a piece on the Nationalist Party of Canada, nazi-skin record reviews, an interview with international leader of Aryan Nations, Richard Butler and likewise with a member of the British Movement (U.K.). The second issue contained more of the same with the addition of an interview with a Dallas Confederate Hammerskins organizer and a profile of Thom Robb's Arkansas-based KKK. This model provided an extensive network of contacts based around concepts which urged fascist skinheads to begin preparing themselves for an inevitable 'Racial Holy War'. It also served as a Canadian platform for the ideas of international fascist movements. Another fanzine entitled 'The White Warrior' circulated in fascist circles as the publication of Montreal's ARM (Aryan Resistance Movement) skinheads.

In 1989, the United Skinheads of Montreal held a Labour Day weekend rally in Sherbrooke. In attendance were organizations from the U.S. including the KKK and Aryan Nations, a virulently anti-Semitic white-power outfit based in Idaho. The Aryan Nations compound on Hayden Lake, Idaho

was the accommodation for roughly twenty Canadian skins who participated in a 'training camp' during April of 1991. Edgar Foth, one of the two Canadians who had been an active player in Aryan Nations and the U.S. fascist-terror group: 'The Order' (aka The Silent Brotherhood), regularly worked with and influenced fascist skinheads. One particular group he coaxed, the Calgary-based 'Final Solution Skinheads', were responsible for the violent assault of an Edmonton broadcaster on April 15, 1990. Foth also arranged skinhead security for a 1990 Western Canada Concept (WCC) meeting. By 1990, Aryan Nation chapters had been established in Eastern Canada and in all Western provinces.

On October 13, 1989, a group of 30-to-50 boneheads attacked a crowd outside the Spectrum club in Montreal where the French anti-fascist punk band *Berurier Noir* was performing. On April 22, 1990, ARM skinheads rallied shoulder-to-shoulder with members of 'Longitude 74', a Montreal cell of Canada's KKK, against an assembly of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Canada.

On the July 1st weekend (Canada Day), 1990, roughly 250 neo-Nazi skinheads attended an "Aryan gathering" in Metcalfe, Ontario, near the nation's capital, numbering twice the turnout of the previous-year's gathering in Minden. The British fascist band *No Remorse* were flown in to feature at this gathering which was held on the property of Nazi-landowner and KKK member Ian McDonald.[3]

In British Columbia, another dense area of fascist activity, flyers advocating the hanging of communists appeared around major cities. This was the work of the Mission-based ARM, or Aryan Resistance Movement which published a monthly newsletter, *the Spokesman*, and linked up to the national and international movement with an extensive telephone network, the *Liberty Net*. Operated

by Vancouver fascist and one-time Aryan Nations member and founding ARM member Tony McAleer, this network had links with twenty WAR (White Aryan Resistance) lines in the States and featured a variety of messages from Canadian, American and European Nazi-movement leadership. McAleer held claim to six Ontario ARM chapters with several hundred members, mostly skinheads or as they were now commonly referred to as by their opponents, boneheads.



Vancouver fascist, Tony McAleer, one-time ARM member and current operator of the Liberty Net

It is important to note that Southern Ontario's fascist links with Detroit, the West Coast links with WAR, and the East Coast links with an array of U.S. organizations are prime examples of the many ties that have remained solid over the years up to the present day. The influence of groups like WAR, who were extremely successful in harnessing the strength of the growing fascist skinhead movement, provided a model for the extreme right leadership in Canada to follow with a similar degree of success.



The Neo-Nazi Street Scene In Canada

## To The Tune Of A Rebirth

On December 8, 1990 a *Heritage Front* sponsored "Martyr's Day Rally" in Toronto honouring the late Bob Matthews of 'The Order', an armed fascist terror-group in the U.S., now defunct, attracted sixty supporters including a number of boneheads from across the border. Hosted by Heritage Front leader Wolfgang Droege[4], this 'unity drive' brought into attendance members from Church Of The Creator (COTC)[5], Aryan Resistance Movement (ARM), Nationalist Party of Canada (NPC), and the KKK. Such a blatant public show of support for something of this nature was definitely a sign of things to come in the next few years in the city.

In 1992, the Heritage Front, a Toronto-based umbrella group of far-rightists, reached the peak of a big recruiting drive in the highschoools and working-class communities of cities including Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, London, and Kitchener-Waterloo. Part of this campaign included the usual propagandizing and leafleting, but the bulk of it was orchestrated with the launch of the neo-Nazi-music scene. Although it was played out relatively low-key at first, its effects became loud and clear.

On August 28, 1992 Toronto's RAHOWA (Racial HOLY WAR), a white-power band fronted by Church of the Creator organizer and bonehead George Burdi (aka Rev. Eric Hawthorne), played their first gig in the city. A Buffalo act, No Alibi, was on the bill but got busted for drugs and white power literature



George Burdi of RAHOWA

at the border and were turned back. Nonetheless, eighty COTC members were in attendance for the event.

RAHOWA played again on November 13 at the Roma Restaurant, this time with *Negative Response*, complete with a COTC Security Legion of 'White Berets'[6] perform-

ing the evening's security. The event was scheduled to feature British holocaust-denier David Irving as a speaker before a wide-ranging group in attendance, from white middle class families to boneheads. Irving was deported earlier that day, but the event went on to commemorate former Western Guard Party (WGP) members John Ross Taylor and Jacob Prins for years of 'white racial service'. *Negative Response*, a closet nazi-band that even had Bernie Farber of the CJC (Canadian Jewish Congress) convinced that they weren't shady, hit the stage followed by RAHOWA. The evening was cut short by the efforts of a sizable ARA (Anti-Racist Action) demonstration outside of the venue.

The month of November marked the beginning of a notable increase in fascist activity, which included the desecration of Toronto's Native Centre and the Kensington community theatre and employment centre with spraypainted swastikas, the desecration of a Jewish synagogue, and an attack on a socialist bookshop.

In Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, Heritage Front representatives from Toronto were holding regular meetings and planning gigs with local boneheads who were recruiting for the HF in the highschoools. A speaking event with David Irving was hosted by Waterloo neo-Nazi Michael Rothe at his Kitchener shopfront, European Sound. Security was shoddily provided by a collection of boneheads who

### Some Canadian White Supremacist Organisational Emblems



**HERITAGE FRONT** - Vaguely reminiscent of the swastika, this white, red and black symbol features the three-pronged Germanic rune used in Hitler's time to represent 'aryan fortune'. A Canadian-based far right organisation.



**CHURCH OF THE CREATOR** - Red, white and black emblem of the paramilitary COTC, symbolizing 'white racial loyalty'.



**WAR** - White Aryan Resistance, a white supremacist organisation based in the U.S. with chapters in Canada, including a base of support in Toronto.



**KKK** - The teardrop within the Iron Cross is the symbol utilized by Ku Klux Klan groupings throughout Canada and the United States.



Celtic cross symbol of the outlawed Peoples Socialist Party of Germany but has since become widely used by fascists everywhere. It has come to represent the division of nations by race.



**ARYAN NATIONS** - Incorporating the 'Wolves Hook' rune, this symbol represents the various facets of Christian Identity ideology.



**NORTHERNHAMMER-SKINS** - One of the various designs incorporating the crossed hammer symbol.

threatened and flicked their lighters at a local Jewish anti-fascist activist. This woman's home was subsequently firebombed twice by HF supporters. As well, a Jewish shopowner was attacked in his downtown Kitchener store.

At the tail end of November, six Montreal boneheads, members of *White Power Canada*, were arrested for the beating death of a gay man. A Black woman who worked at the Youthlink Centre in Toronto was harassed and assaulted at her home by fascist skinheads. On March 23, 1993, during a climate of harassment and death threats, a young women's hostel in Toronto was firebombed by the cohorts of a woman who was ousted for bringing neo-Nazi material into the shelter. Around the same time, a member of Toronto's *Black Action Defense Committee* (BADC) was attacked by five neo-Nazis as he left the BADC office.



On May 29, 1993, RAHOWA was playing out again, this time in Ottawa at the Boys and Girls Club, where running battles between fascists and anti-fascists took place after the event was shut down. George Burdi himself ended up getting arrested for assault. On the night of June 6, 1993 RAHOWA played in Downsview, Toronto to a pumped-up audience of fascist skins, three of which went on a rampage following the event. One Jason Robert Hoolans, twenty years of age and covered in racist tattoos, attacked and beat a Tamil dishwasher into a coma that

night, leaving the man paralyzed for life. Hoolans stated to the police that night in a videotaped conversation that he "...didn't like to see



all the immigrants coming in taking our jobs...I mean my race, the white race, is dying out. I'd like to see this country...a white nation." And the bands played on.

### Taking Back The Streets In Toronto

June was the beginning of a bad time for the fascists in Toronto. Internal conflicts seemed to be of the order when on June 9, three COTC members kidnapped their own Tyrone Mason on the suspicion that he had been 'making his own ends' with the Heritage Front mailing list and other vital information. Charges of forcible confinement and assault led a police squad back to the home of George Burdi himself, home also to five other COTC members and a small cache of automatic weapons. Two men charged in the kidnapping were the Fischers, Elkar and his brother Eric who served as a former sergeant in the Canadian Airborne Regiment and was subsequently serving as head of security and intelligence for the

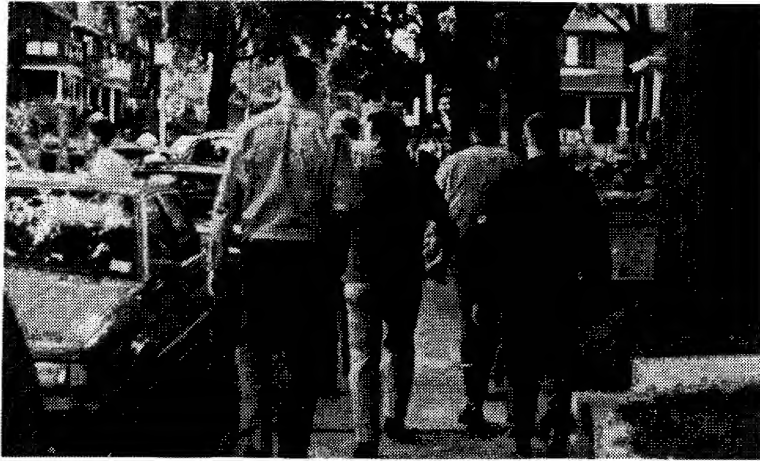
COTC in Toronto. The third person charged was Drew Maynard, COTC skinhead and former SHARP flunkie. In the aftermath of the kidnapping incident, Mason remained active within the scene while both the HF and the COTC went on business as usual and continued to flourish.

It was for the COTC that membership numbers tripled in size during 1993. Reports from British Columbia suggested that at least 200 boneheads from that area had moved into the ranks of the paramilitary COTC, an organization that has groupings in the U.S., England, Sweden, Australia, and South Africa, which had a strong base in Toronto where it was holding regular weekend meetings and paramilitary training sessions. The Heritage Front was gearing up locally for the setting-up of a public office and shopfront, and plans were on the go for sending RAHOWA on a nationwide tour. The future looked white and bright indeed, but the winds were soon to change direction.

The incidents that followed were a direct street-level response to the increasing campaign of fascist terror being waged against the community in Toronto. On June 11, an Anti-Racist Action (ARA) demonstration stormed the house of Front organizer Gary Shipper, home of the Heritage Front Hotline. Roughly sixty boneheads had gathered near Nazi-propagandist Ernst Zundel's house on Zundel's request, assuming incorrectly that the targeted location would in fact be his. Late that night, boneheads and HF leadership at-



tempted to retaliate in an attack on an anti-fascist haunt on College Street. Although they outnumbered the anti-racists at least two-to-one, the boneheads gained themselves a good thrashing and Wolfgang Droege, leader of



All dressed up and nowhere to go: Wolfgang Drogue leads a pack of boneheads on a field trip to the ruins of Gary Shipper's house.

the HF and former Grand Dragon of the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan got himself arrested. As well, Peter Mitrevski and fascist skinhead Chris Newhook scored themselves weapons-related charges. All in all, the day was ARA's. The HF plans for the shopfront went up in flames, the RAHOWA tour was cancelled, and all funds went towards bailing out Droege and fronting for further legal costs. Moreover, it was made clear that the streets were not going to be given up that easily by anti-fascists.

### RAHOWA, Resistance Records And The Racist Rockline

The gig was not up for George Burdi, who had big plans for his band. Burdi's gameplan was to set up a record label to legitimize white power music in order to lure a wider audience of white youth towards buying into the movement. This came in the form of 'Resistance Records', an outfit which he based in Detroit with a fellow member of RAHOWA and the invested seed money of fifty thousand Canadian dollars. This arrangement allowed them to avoid Canada's stricter hate laws and take full advantage of U.S. liberal free speech rights. The label produced cassette and CD releases of RAHOWA along with *Nordic Thunder*, *Aggravated Assault*, *The Voice*, and *Aryan* (a London, Ontario-based band which included two ex-members of Toronto's *Vacant Lot*). Song titles like 'Coon Hunt', 'United, White and Proud', and 'Race War', sum up the lyrical content of these bands. Recently, Burdi put up \$5,000 to cover production costs for three of these bands. Resistance Records also issues a glossy magazine of the same name which contains interviews with the bands, reactionary news articles, and contacts with the broader fascist music and political

scenes in the U.S. and Europe.

This model, set up around and fuelled by the music scene is based on the *Blood and Honour* movement in Britain, founded by the late Ian Stuart Donaldson (of whom a tribute is dedicated in the first issue of *Resistance Records* magazine). *Blood and Honour* was responsible for putting on 'Oil' concerts across Britain, and even sponsored several gigs in the United States. This concept allowed for the spread of propaganda, cultivated for the recruitment of white youth to the ideas and concepts of fascism, and funneled extremely large amounts of money directly into the fascist movement. In its own words: "We will follow the example of the one uncorruptable ideal: national socialism, and its martyr Adolph Hitler". After its 1987 split with 'White Noise', the so-called 'culture wing' of the National Front, the *Blood and Honour* phenomenon spread like the plague throughout Europe with the popular upsurge of chart-topping fascist bands the likes of 'Bohse Onkels' (Germany), 'Ultima Thule' (Sweden), and 'Brutal Combat' (France). RAHOWA has also signed a contract with 'Rebel Europeans', a record label in France which deals in strictly fascist material.

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# RESISTANCE®

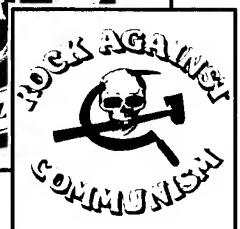
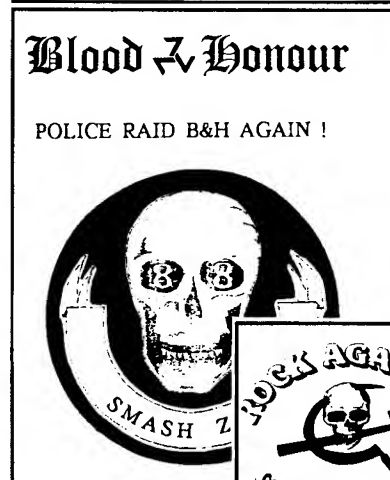
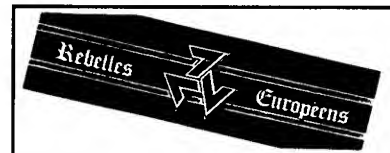
✱ The Ultimate White Power Skinhead Fanzine ✱

**Dynamic Power-Packed First Issue Includes:**

- Feature article on Bound For Glory
- Interviews with Sweetika, Das Reich, Aryan & More!
- Articles on Carleton & Nordic Thunder
- Movie Review for *Stomper Stomper*
- Full-Colour Glossy Cover
- 24-page full-size layout
- First issue circulation of 8,000 copies!
- Crisp, sharp photography of concerts & musicians
- News & Views
- Letters to the Editor from around the world
- Record Reviews for all Resistance Records releases
- Top-ten White Power lists
- Merchandise advertisements
- Entry form for the Resistance Records Swapmeet
- Upcoming Concert info.
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Sound exciting? How can you receive the premiere issue of RESISTANCE? Just send us a letter that states "I want to be on the Resistance Records mailing list", along with your address, and we'll mail you a copy free of charge. Then all you have to do is order something from Resistance Records and you'll receive each new issue of RESISTANCE. We expect to be hearing from you soon. If you have already written us, you are on our mailing list and will automatically receive your premiere issue. Just one more way we are taking the White World by storm.

**Resistance Records**  
Forging a New Destiny For White Power Music  
P.O. Box 10000, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.



**Peeling White Power Concerts**  
Detroit, Michigan Area

Saturday, December 4th, 1993

**Rival**  
**RAHOWA**  
Max Resist & the Hooligans  
Working Class

Tickets \$5.00 at the door - Show starts at 8:00 p.m.

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**1993 NEW YEAR'S BASH**  
Two Nights of Terror Featuring Minnesota's  
**Bound For Glory**

Secret Begins On New Year's Eve  
and Finishes on New Year's Day  
Two Nights of Terror:  
Friday, December 31st, 1993  
Saturday, January 1st, 1994  
(order of bands and line-up details have not been  
final yet and are at the discretion of promoters.)

Plus Special Guests  
**White Riot**  
**RAHOWA**  
**Rival**  
Max Resist & the Hooligans  
**CENTURION**  
Das Reich

Tickets \$15 for both nights  
or \$10 per night

In the best interest of the fascists, 'racial rock' was becoming of interest to the media, creating big headlines. When RAHOWA played a secret Toronto location with the London-based band Aryan, they gained themselves some airtime on Much Music. Anti-Racist Action successfully rallied an interruption of a 'panel discussion' with these boneheads at the Much Music building. The anti-racist music scene within the punk community did a lot to counter the Nazi-music upsurge with *Rock Against Racism* concerts and the outspoken work of bands such as Toronto's *Politikill Incorrect*, a BFG make-up which even appeared on Much Music television to concretely combat the fascist music-scene. The grassroots work of individuals within the punk milieu waged a campaign that successfully exposed Negative Response's attempts to hide its fascist agenda and make its ends within the punk scene. It was elements like these



'Griffin' of the London-based band *Aryan* (formerly *Vacant Lot*). Also a member of southern Ontario's *Mountain Church*, a Christian Identity offshoot.

that had been instrumental in the initial formation of ARA as an active street-level force.

The fascists decided to make the best of their time in the spotlight and took the music scene all the way. They set up the 'Racialist Rockline' and advertised their first 'Rock Against Communism' concert for February 26, 1994, which took place in Toronto's East End. The bill consisted of *White Riot* (aka Negative Response), *Excessive Force*, *Aryan*, and *Max Resist and the Hooligans* from the United States. Operated by George Harbottle, the Racialist Rockline was based in Toronto and held together a loose network of boneheads and Nazi-bands across Southern Ontario and the States. During its time it gained notoriety for being the most blatantly fascist and upfront with its propaganda. Following the cancellation of a second 'Racial Rockshow' on April

23rd by a police move to prevent a clash between showgoers and anti-fascists, the angry message on the Rockline the following day urged its listeners to "...take up arms against the cops".

#### Yonge Street And Beyond

Hereafter, the fascist music scene found itself, for the most part, underground. The seeds had been sown by its short-lived proliferation and a following of boneheads are becoming increasingly visible and active across Canada, mostly organizing themselves within small

towns and communities.

Toronto fascists have been denied a high-profile street presence thanks to the work of anti-fascist forces in the area, but their low-level recruiting continues nonetheless. A Toronto Sun article dated August 3, 1994 entitled 'Racists recruit at MTHA' documents the hotbed of fascist activity and propaganda aimed towards residents of the Toronto Metro Housing Authority. A November 1993 report reads, "MTHA communities are especially attractive to hate groups as a recruitment source because of the high representation of youth and people in the lower-income level", citing eight different projects where racist flyers were distributed, five more projects with racist vandalism and graffiti, racist-messaging voice mail at one address, and three different projects which housed residents belonging to organized groups, not exclusive to the Ku Klux Klan, WAR, and the Heritage Front.

Although they organize mainly in the East End, where they have entrenched themselves, a street presence was beginning to test the waters of anti-fascist tolerance in its attempts to reclaim a foothold in areas like Yonge Street in the downtown core. One particular area of increased activity is Cabbagetown, the district where Ernst Zundel is based. Boneheads and organizers alike frequent local establishments which are sympathetic to Zundel. But, being careful at all times to downplay his association with the boneheads, Zundel has seen to it



Ernst Zundel and 'company'

that the area is squeaky-clean and free of fascist graffiti. In actuality, Zundel maintains a strong relationship with the boneheads, who are always on hand for security duty at his fortified house on 206 Carlton St. or local establishment when he needs them. Although the area seems placid on the surface, it is an area utilized by the fascists for social gatherings as well as stomping grounds for fascist leadership from Germany who visit Zundel on a regular basis.[7]

The bonehead presence downtown has existed consistently since the IXL boot store had been in existence throughout its location changes. For many years, Toronto's street-wise youth have known about neo-Nazi goings-on at these locations, but until now this information only circulated in the form of rumour. Quite often rumours were enough for IXL proprietors who finally had to install plexiglass windows and steel-wrought gates to protect themselves.



Alaric Jackson

in Montreal to rally the fascist *United Skinheads of Montreal*. Here in Toronto, Alaric Jackson's behind-the-counter work continued in the vein of directing potential recruits towards fascist activities and organizations.

Swastika-tattooed IXL employees switched off working at either location and selling fascist records

Britain, which still remain popular, included the likes of *Skrewdriver*, *Klansmen*, *Skullhead*, *No Remorse*, and *Squadron*. Such a connection might explain the abundance of *Skrewdriver* and *No Remorse* patches in the Toronto and surrounding area. Prior to the existence of these locations, Alaric Jackson operated an IXL on Queen Street in the same vicinity as the current 'Reckless' location. This outlet sold fascist patches quite openly. Jackson's father, who financed the IXL chain, had close ties with the Blood and Honour movement in Britain and rumour has it that money running in those circles went to funding activities here in Canada.

Throughout the late-eighties, IXL consistently provided the neo-Nazi street scene with an organizational centre for their activities. The Canadian Defense Skinheads held social gatherings and meetings at the Yonge Street location. They recruited from here and made use of it as a hangout for themselves and other los-



## Beating The Fashionable Fascists

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IXL was a skinhead/mod fashion store that had an outlet in Montreal and two long-time active outlets in Toronto; one at 535 Yonge Street, and the other location called 'Reckless' at 202 Queen Street West. Both locations are operated by Alaric Jackson, who helped produce 'Canada Awake!', the infamous fascist bonehead fanzine. He played in *Cross*, a crappy Oi band which played at the 1989 Aryan Fest in Minden, Ontario and utilized his now-defunct IXL boutique

behind the counter to anyone who looked the part and knew what to ask for. These records are sold via the West German 'Rock-O-Rama' label whose funds go into the promotion of Blood and Honour and Rock Against Communism activities across Europe. This is where their political sympathy lies, even though they carry other unaligned titles in the vein of ska, psychobilly and punk music. Blood and Honour bands from

ers in the scene. Behind the counter, one might have come upon group photos of the fascist gangs, along with their organization's flags. This level of activity continues. On April 23, 1994,

## SHUT DOWN NAZI S

IXL stores, where fascist insignia has been available for purchase by neo-nazis, hated by Anti-Racist Action through picket: public information campaigns. As of Feb "Reckless" store on Queen has been shut campaign to close the Yonge Street IXL owned by neo-nazis Alaric and Rod

Northern Hammerskins and other neo-Nazi boneheads utilized the IXL location on Yonge Street as a redirection point for boneheads gathering in commemoration of Hitler's Birthday at the Latvian House on College Street.

#### Enter The Hammerskins

On July 2, 1994, one-hundred boneheads from Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Quebec and Ontario gathered on a farm in Caledon outside of Toronto for what was billed on the Racist Rockline as "Aryan Fest '94". Ten white-power bands were promised, yet only four turned up to play; one band from Toronto and three from the United States. Boneheads danced around a bonfire and raced around the barnyard with SS battleflags, creating a scene worthy of a few laughs. To top it all off, a brawl broke out among the participants and three boneheads ended up getting free tickets to the local hospital. True kameradeship. Security was provided by Toronto's Northern Hammerskins who are under the organizational coordination of Eric and Elkar Fischer.

The Northern Hammerskins are not all that new to the scene, but they are certainly increasingly growing in numbers and popularity. They initially became a semi-organized entity in Toronto and Southern Ontario with the cross-border influence of Detroit's Hammerskins. The relationship the NHS have with the Heritage Front was almost one of friendly competition. They see the HF as having failed against anti-racist forces in the city and they figured they could do better.

The 'Hammerskin' title was derived by boneheads influenced in particular by a scene from the film 'The Wall' by the music group Pink Floyd. This certain scene, which depicts British fascist skins rampaging

through a Pakistani neighbourhood followed by an animated sequence of hammers marching in endless rows, displays a definite anti-fascist slant (as does the film in general) but nevertheless boneheads were empowered by the image; hence, the Hammerskins. In the U.S., there are countless groups of Confederate, Northern, and Eastern Hammerskins to name a few. The Confederate Hammerskins from the United States were all over the media through the mid-to-late-eighties in connection with incidents of racist attacks and murders and desecrations of synagogues. The



Hammerskins were second in size only to the California-based WAR and have since become the dominant strain.

In Canada there are currently at least six well-established active Northern Hammerskin chapters, including one branch in Quebec whose post office box is also home to the fascist band, *Involved Patriots*. The Toronto chapter address features the band White Riot, and a branch in B.C. houses *Odin's Law* who are managed by Tony McAleer. Toronto has its own chapter of the

Women of the Northern Hammerskins, who operated a hotline under the same name. Hammerskin chapters abroad include outfits in Switzerland, Germany, Britain, France, as well as one in Australia.

At this stage of the game, the NHS in Canada were busy networking amongst themselves and other organisations abroad through the traditional channels of publications and music fanzines, trading music and news. And although it's nothing new, the fascists had delved into networking through a series of computer bulletin boards, newsgroups, networks, and in particular the Internet. On the outset, the most notorious player in this realm was a Hammerskin from Gatineau, Ottawa named Jason Smith who gatecrashed the 'skinhead' and 'Canadian politics' newsgroups on the Internet with fascist propaganda and recruitment pleas. His NHS chapter featured a slap-dash publication called *Sledgehammer* which provided a voice for the NHS and the circle of fascist bands and fans it caters to. Smith also maintains a healthy relationship with Resistance Records organizers.

This stage of networking is well on its way towards the next level which is that of carrying out coordinated attacks. Canada's organized boneheads have consistently attempted ties with American organizations, which in turn have some direct ties to the highly-organized European outfits. To provide a recent example of this structure, one might take note of an organization formed at the time in Victoria, British Columbia known as the *Canadian Front*. This small grouping had formed in an area known to be an organizing/recruiting centre for the HF and COTC. The Canadian Front are closely aligned with the *American Front* [8] in the U.S. and their name and contact address has appeared in AF publications. American Front skinheads also distribute what are known as 'Red-Watch' lists, which are

essentially 'hit-lists' containing the addresses of their enemies. Although not very accurate in their knowledge of the Left, these lists are circulated to encourage violence upon those listed. This practice is yet another import from European terror-outfits like Combat 18 (Britain) and Anti-Antifa (Germany), who base themselves around the 'leaderless resistance' concept; that of forming small units or 'cells' to commit violent racist attacks and murders against its enemies. Another American outfit that advocates these tactics is Gary Lauck's *National Socialist German Worker's Party - Foreign Organization* (NSDAP/AO) USA. Lauck's publications have made their impact with fascist skinheads in Montreal while the relatively-small Canadian Front have plastered NSDAP/AO stickers and posters around the streets of Victoria, British Columbia.

In June of 1994, two members of the Northern Hammerskins in Manitoba were arrested and charged for the June 4 assault on patrons in a local bar. According to the *Manitoba Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid* (MCARA), the Manitoba NHS chapter holds ties with a variety neo-Nazi organizations across Canada, as well as the U.S. bonehead band, *Bound For Glory* of St. Paul, Minnesota. The MCARA also reported that a bonehead convicted of beating a gay man has had his two-year sentence reduced to seven months by the courts. Two other NHS boneheads facing trial for a September 1993

anti-gay assault, have been linked with ARM neo-Nazis in eastern Canada and the HF in Toronto. Active cells of the NHS in Vancouver have recruited members from ARM in British Columbia and COTC members in eastern Canada. In Montreal, a Black man was assaulted by two members of the Northern Hammerskins who were subsequently handed down three-year jail sentences.

**Northern Hammer Skinheads**



**SKINHEADS ON THE RISE**  
Northern Hammer Skinheads  
Of Detroit

P.O. Box [redacted]  
Flint, MI 48053


P.O. Box [redacted]  
Rochester, MI 48308-1371

computer technology and harassment techniques to younger group members who then put it into practice. Since Bristow also served as the glue which bonded together communication links with other North American far-right constituencies, the implications of his 'coming to light' triggered multiple effects. Bristow had infiltrated a number of organisations on the far right, including Canada's Reform Party. As it was, tendencies such as the Hammerskin groupings were beginning to rely less and less on the initiative of Heritage Front leadership, but the CSIS revelation definitely shook whatever trust the younger membership had with its older guard. In effect, the extreme-right skinhead or youth current in


North America on the whole seems to be directing itself towards the 'leaderless resistance' concept; a strategy which involves small cells or single individuals, unbeknownst to each other, engaging in fascist violence at the decreased risk of infiltration and detection. This model, which is method of choice for the fascist underground in Europe, takes as one of its influences the 1989 fiction novel *"The Turner Diaries"*, which also inspired the *Silent Brotherhood*. [9]

Church Of The Creator, who had been the most violent paramilitary fascist grouping within the North American extreme right, became well-seasoned in the conditions for clandestine activity. A bombing-plot in Los Angeles conspired by U.S. members of *Fourth Reich Skinheads* and *White Aryan Resistance* was foiled in mid-October of 1993 by

Northern Hammer ~~SKINS~~




Montreal Area  
P.O. Box [redacted]  
Lachine, P.Q.  
H8S 4H4  
CANADA




**Fighting For Race and Nation**

Quebec Area


**Northern Hammer Skinheads**



N.H.S.  
C.P. [redacted]  
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LÉVIS, QUÉBEC  
G6V 8S3 CANADA



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Toronto, Ontario  
M5W 1X4  
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**One Great Nation, Flesh & Blood  
Preservation for our Race**

#### Leaderless Resistance

Recent events have led to some ground-splitting consequences for the fascist movement and street scene in Toronto; consequences which seemed to point towards a 'leaderless resistance' concept for the fascist youth groupings and their overall lack of directional trust in the leadership or 'old guard'.

The first blow came on August 15, 1994 with a revelation that the *Canadian Security and Intelligence Service* (CSIS) had planted an operative, Grant Bristow, into the circles of the *Nationalist Party of Canada* in early 1989. This particular 'mole' subsequently co-founded and financed the *Heritage Front*, offering his expertise in

14


**Exiled Charlemagne Hammer Skins**

Une Violence Fanatique  
& Une Haine Légitime


c/o NHS  
P.O. Box [redacted]  
East St. Paul  
MN 55106  
USA

Chicago Area

**NORTHERN HAMMER SKINS**



P.O. Box [redacted]  
Midlothian  
IL 60445



The Neo-Nazi Street Scene In Canada

the FBI, through its use of a skinhead informant who maintained the status of 'ordained minister' within the COTC. In the second issue of Resistance Records magazine (July/94), George Burdi announced his departure from the COTC due to personal differences he had with the U.S. leadership of the group. Speaking for his band in his own words, "The organisation took a turn for the worse when a clown by the name of Rick McCarty was handed the reins of leadership. Although we believe in many of the positive aspects of Creativity, we are no longer members."

Infighting amongst the older guard of far-right activists had increasingly become commonplace in the atmosphere of paranoia, fear and mistrust in Canada. Strong words gave way to threats made with fireweapons between three HF members in mid-October of 1994. James Scott Dawson escalated an argument with George Harbottle and Karen Lyons in his east-end Toronto home by pointing two of his handguns at the couple. To the dismay of anti-fascists no well-aimed shots were fired!

For the extreme right in Canada, incidents such as this seemed to point to the assumption that CSIS and the Canadian state had left them in a completely disoriented shambles. Certainly, they were taken for a ride and manipulated by the state for any number of reasons, but it can't be said that they themselves didn't benefit from the resulting exposure and experience gained. It can be said that Bristow's involvement has moved things rapidly forward for the fascists in Canada, having in effect strengthened the resolution of independent fascist youth-groupings. In many historical cases whereby police and state forces have played the fascists like a hand of cards, the state's interests as well as those of the fascists' agenda have been equally served.

As we would soon see, the extreme right in Canada came to emphasize its anti-state (read: anti-'Zionist Occupational Government') sentiment as an unprepared radical left became a mere sideshow in their

organising. This line of tactic North America's fascist movement chose to take into 1995 was very much reflected in the nature of a comment given to the Toronto Sun by Ken Barker on the issue of the 'Bristow affair': "It was perfect sidetracking ... These people (ARA) were not our enemies, the government was."

*The facts behind the CSIS revelation of a paid state agent having been funded to cultivate a powerful fascist movement in Canada had such far-reaching implications and effects, that it is important to look at this landmark event in broader detail. The facts we have shed light on up until this point must now be seen in a slightly brighter light. The article, The Canadian State and the Extreme Right appears on page 24 of this pamphlet.*

## Part Two

The Smoke Clears  
in Toronto.....

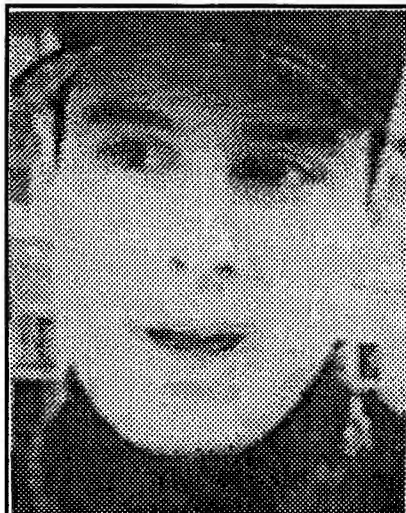
Following the shake-up of the 'Grant Bristow affair' many observers, some of them from the anti-racist ranks, believed the state to have wrapped up the job of tackling the extreme right in Canada. On the contrary, it's a fact that all major and minor players in the still-existing Heritage Front, along with their allies and sympathisers near and afar, remain active in fascist organising. As predicted, many of them left the Heritage Front organisation to start up new groups or individual initiatives. Some left because they no longer had faith in their supposedly-competent leadership, while others split over political differences.

So, in what standing did the affair leave the players of Toronto's Heritage Front? Wolfgang Drogue, who for reasons beyond our understanding hasn't found himself serving several lifetimes in prison for his past drugs and weapons-related activities and 'political' practices, has continued to focus his organising on recruiting from various suburban highschoools. According to claims made by CSIS, Drogue and Grant Bristow had schemed a covert paramilitary program aimed at establishing a "white-power enclave" outside Peterborough. The plan was meant to include forming cell-structures of right-wing activists. Instead, Drogue seemed to have settled for a pursuit of the electoral strategy, running himself as a candidate for Scarborough City Council in November of 1994. Campaigning on an anti-immigration platform, Drogue received 870 ballots; 14% of the vote. Others who ran for local constituencies but took an overall beating at the 1994 polls included Max and June French, James Brookman and Brenda Kildey. HF-supporter Lorna Houston and Don Andrews of the Nationalist Party stood on Toronto's mayoral ballot. In September, an anti-Reform Party demonstration in Toronto was attacked by fascist skinheads. Members of the ever-wily *International Socialists* (IS) who had been canvassing against the



Grant Bristow accompanied Ernst Zundel to Munich in March 1991 for the Leuchter Kongresses, a revisionist conference organised by Ewald Bela Althans.

Reform Party in the east end were attacked by a group of fascists and one IS member was attacked at his home by four fascists days earlier. For what it's worth, some HF players had their hands temporarily tied over a number of courtroom dramas running into the spring of 1995. Drogue himself popped in and out of jail around his conviction of assault and further contempt charges relating to his operation of a telephone hotline. Seventeen-year old Adrian Galinas stood alongside Drogue for a four-day trial in February over their second-prize streetfight on College Street. Chris Newhook went into jail again on possession of weapons and narcotics, violating his probation after being convicted for his role in the pounding he and his fascist associates took on College Street in June 1993. George Burdi, 24 this year, was convicted of assault April 10, 1995 for attacking an anti-racist demonstrator at the war memorial in Ottawa on the May 29, 1993 mobilisation against a RAHOWA concert. Following a sentencing to one year's imprisonment, Burdi was soon bailed out. Upfront, the monthly magazine and main propaganda organ of the Heritage Front continues to maintain itself, still containing the rantings and pseudo-intellectual musings of HF veteran Gerry Lincoln and the younger desperadoes he manages to conjure up. True to form with the bulk of fascist periodicals, the letters in the letters section of Upfront read as though they were all penned by the editor. The most recent HF video release at the time, In His Own Words: The Best of Bristow features some of Grant Bristow's public speeches which HF organisers believe to be damning evidence illuminating how he manipulated their organisation. With no phone of his own to answer, Gary Shipper ended up working for Ernst Zundel at the Carlton Street location along with Marc Lemire, who had already been in the area with Zundel for some time. Marc Lemire and Les Jasinski[10], who had made a small name for themselves with their operation of the Euro-Canadian Action League (ECAL)



Marc Lemire: who pulls his strings?

telephone hotline, have since formed the *Canadian Patriot Network*. CPN leaflets have appeared in suburban Toronto highschools. Ken Barker, another close associate of Lemire who had operated the *Equal Rights for Whites* hotline and abandoned the HF just before its 'shakedown', now resides in Hamilton; an industrial city outside of Toronto.

Seventeen year-old Elizabeth Moore made herself newsworthy by stirring up 'racial tensions' on the campus of Queens University in Kingston, Ontario. She had written a letter of outreach to the Heritage Front in Toronto in an attempt to solicit their support. They in turn funded her campus flyer campaign and soon adopted her as their new

token 'white-supremacist female', having lost their allegiance with turncoat, Elisse Hategan. Hategan, a teenager of Romanian decent, had broken her allegiance with the HF towards the end of 1993 but remained within the organisation for roughly three months in order to conduct intelligence on them for the Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudice (CCRP). Knowledge of Bristow's role gained through this activity, led to its much wider revelation, albeit much later on. In the aftermath of the Bristow affair and despite all of its related trials and tribulations, the Heritage Front benefited hugely from the media circus which was to follow on its heels.

## The Battle For Young Minds

Towards the end of February 1995, a television documentary entitled Hearts of Hate: The Battle for Young Minds was broadcast covering these trials and tribulations of the extreme-right in Canada and leading up to the 'Grant Bristow affair'. Produced by Peter Rayment, another irresponsible shock-hungry Toronto journalist, the film goes an awfully long way to provide the fascists in the documentary with a very big platform to preach from. It profiles well-known Canadian white-supremacists Wolfgang Drogue, Gary Schipper, George Burdi, Ernst Zundel, and Tony McAleer as well as some of the lesser-knowns like Elizabeth Moore, Jason Smith, and Adam Harris. The unbalanced coverage they received to put themselves across has the viewer wondering why the producers didn't simply offer George Burdi and company their own weekly sitcom! To quote from the film's narration, "...There's a war being waged in Canada, a battle for young minds ... Hard times, harder hearts have profoundly changed Canada. Many young people have lost hope of ever finding a job, or living as well as their parents..." Since the media and the wealthy establishment it represents and caters to could never even pretend to have solutions for

# LOST

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FACT - If you are found guilty by the Employment Equity Tribunal you could face fines up to \$50,000. And you couldn't appeal the decision.

FACT - Employment Equity has literally stripped all employer's hiring rights.

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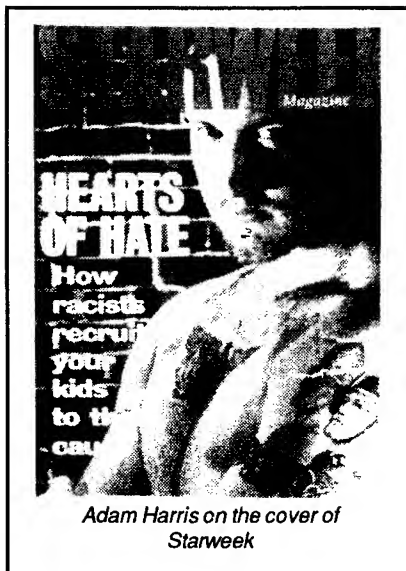
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Adam Harris on the cover of Starweek

working class people, this served as an advertisement for the Heritage Front, who were themselves claiming to be the only ones offering these solutions. George Burdi glowered in Resistance Records magazine that "...the documentary was doing a lot of our groundwork..." The fact is, the Canadian mainstream media along with its writers, journalists and intellectuals have all made themselves a good living from half-cocked reportage and reactionary assessment of the extreme right. Just as the media went charging in for overnight sensation-stories about skinheads during the late-'80s, once again we see the 'experts' and 'specialists' on 'hate-crime' activity creeping out of the woodwork to offer their uninformed worldviews. Warren Kinsella's 1994 book release Web of Hate, which unsuccessfully covers the recent history of Canada's extreme-right, is informationally sketchy and overly sensational and serves as another case in point. The fascists end up getting their egos massaged while the anti-racist/anti-fascist movement finds itself conveniently airbrushed out of the picture, unless of course they can be conveniently painted as part of the problem.

In the early hours of February 4th 1995, a clash between antifascists and fascists ended off at the Kennedy subway station in Toronto's east end. Two fascist

skinheads were charged in the aftermath; Adrian Kaddie for attempted murder, and Kristian Stefan Brandes for aggravated assault, possession and assault with a weapon. The anti-fascist fighters were branded by the papers as being more of a menace to the community than the fascists. While the real story was unfolding on the streets, the establishment had turned its cameras on the enterprising efforts of the fascist music scene. Resistance Records gained a twenty-minute propaganda play for itself on America's internationally-appraised CNN (Cable News Network) news broadcast.

#### Fascism Swims In The Mainstream

With the proliferation of cross-border activity and relative successes of the fascist youth/music scene in North America, our initial focus on the streets of Canada must again widen to encompass the United States. Resistance Records has forged itself as a leading edge of the fascist youth movement in North America. George Burdi and his close circle of associates have successfully tapped into the hearts, minds and bank accounts of their target audience in a short span of time. Based in Detroit, Michigan, Resistance Records was co-founded officially in 1994 with Mark Wilson of Sterling Heights, Detroit. The label's Incorporation papers were signed by George P. Burdi, and two co-signers, Joseph Talic and Jason Snow of Toronto. Living now in the Canadian city of Windsor, Burdi quit his job as an insurance salesman to become a full-time fascist organiser. As a consequence of his charges, Burdi's bail conditions limit his movements in the United States, but actually do little to impede cross-border activity maintained by strong links that have been built up between Detroit and Toronto.

In keeping with the aim of "forging a new destiny for white power music", Resistance Records held a tribute to Ian Stuart; a memorial gig held on September 30, 1994 commemorating the anniversary of

Ian Stuart's honourable death in a car accident. By 1986, Ian Stuart Donaldson had established Blood and Honour as a label, a promoter and a fanzine, named after a Skrewdriver album. This concert event, which was organised professionally at a large venue in Racine, Milwaukee featured No Remorse from Britain, Bound For Glory, RAHOWA, Centurion, Berserkr and Das Reich. Only 300 showed up to this event, billed as "The Concert Event Of The Decade". Immediately after the concert, Joe Rowan, the vocalist for *Nordic Thunder* decided to commemorate Ian Stuart's passing in his own special way. Following an altercation in a convenience store, a black man dispatched Rowan to Valhalla with a handgun blast to the head. Made out to be a racial martyr, a picture of Joe Rowan featured on the cover of Resistance Records magazine, issue number three. Resistance Records promises a video release of the concert sometime this year, so hopefully, it will include some memorable post-concert footage!

A CD release from No Remorse entitled Farewell Ian Stuart has been released by Resistance Records which has caused some tensions between North American and British fascists. It was no secret that Paul Burnley, the one-time frontman of No Remorse, had skimmed-off a significant amount of funds from the profits of Blood and

Resistance Records Proudly Presents  
The Concert Event Of The Decade

#### The Flame That Never Dies

A Tribute Concert In Memory Of Ian Stuart

Featuring

**NO REMORSE**

**BOUND FOR GLORY**

**RAHOWA  
BERSERKR**

**CENTURION  
DAS REICH**



Friday, Sept. 30th, 1994  
in Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Tickets \$25 in advance OR \$30 at the door  
Doors open at 7:00 P.M.  
Concert starts at 8:00 P.M.  
Cash Bar, All Ages Show, All Whites People Welcome

Directions: You must drive to the rendezvous location to receive a map or carpool to the concert hall. Take I-94 west (north) to Exit #347, The Wisconsin Visitors Information Center (appears as -7- on map) which is just north of the Illinois border. Resistance supporters will be at the rendezvous location Friday from 12 noon until 7 p.m.

If we must change the location of the rendezvous you may call (414) 485-4860 to learn the new location. Do not count on the number for directions to the concert hall, the message will only direct you to a rendezvous location in the event of the unexpected. If there is no emergency no message will be placed.

Copy And Distribute

Honour coffers. Tensions between Blood and Honour who are now firmly under the control of Combat 18 and Resistance Records have boiled to the surface. No Remorse have since had a line-up change and their new album Under The Gods on Nordland Records has also been released by Resistance Records this year along with a No Remorse 'Best Of' compilation. *The Project Tribute* CD, is a compilation being put together by Resistance Records and Phoenix Records featuring the British band Squadron, and one of

Burdi's biggest catches from the United States, Bound For Glory.

In a bid to reach out to a broader 'white' market in North America, Resistance Records have made it a priority to organise and appeal to the metal scene. At the tail end of 1994, Resistance Records had signed four U.S. 'White Power metal' bands, *Centurion* (Milwaukee), *New Minority* (formerly *Ritual*, New Jersey), *Berserker* (ex-Midtown Bootboys members, Oklahoma), and *Bound For Glory* (St. Paul, Minneapolis). Bound For Glory, a Northern Hammerskin band, played with the Swedish band *Svastika*, *Division* and *Midgards Sonar* in Gladsaxe, a suburb of Copenhagen, Denmark on November 4, 1994. Three hundred fascist skins from Denmark, Sweden and Germany were in attendance including members of the *Danish Nazi Party* (DNSB). Bound For Glory were flown overseas to play the Ian Stuart memorial gig in Britain, only to have the show cancelled on them by the

#### RESISTANCE RECORDS - Project "Ian Stuart".

America's Detroit based Resistance Records is to release an album in tribute to Ian Stuart, featuring all current American bands. So far, two deadlines have not been met by some of the bands, plus some of the material was deemed as not of sufficient quality as to do justice to the songs. All of the songs will be Ian's material, so they will all be cover versions. Resistance has stated that a substantial amount of money made from the profits of the sale of this album will be handed over to the British Blood & Honour, as this is the only logical and realistic way that Ian could have his royalties paid.

#### PAUL BURNLEY'S DEBT.

While in contact with Resistance, B&H asked why, even though they knew the controversy concerning Paul Burnley's mishandling of B&H and his unwillingness to hand over B&H property and reimburse subscribers what they are owed, why they had him on the bill of the Aryan Festival and planned to finance an album for him. Resistance stated that although they recognise him as an unsavoury character, they cannot do a U-turn as a large financial commitment has been put into this project. Resistance will be putting it to Burnley that the royalties made from the album he will record for them should go to Blood & Honour, so his debts can be settled. We dearly hope he sees sense.

*Excerpt from a 1994 issue of the British Blood & Honour magazine, now under the direction of Combat 18.*

recorded for approach every excuse their royalties they should unique, let States and complain operation. As Skull opportunity draw our d strongly un Records.

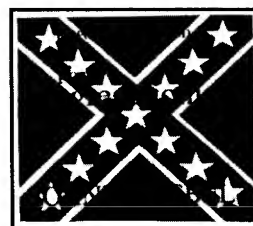
BLOOD & ASSOCIAT Blood & H welfare gro will go tow families thr We ask a P.O.W's se

police. A May 20, 1995 Bound For Glory gig in St. Paul which attracted bikers, skins and metallers was quashed by Minneapolis ARA who had also targeted a tattoo magazine, *Skinart* for running a Resistance Records advertisement a year earlier. BFG's original singer, Eric Banks, was put down for a dirt nap via shotgun blast by a SHARP skin in Oregon early on in 1994. Bound For Glory, who formed in 1989, are quite popular on the world-wide scene and have even featured in the American *Pit Magazine*, which caters to the metal audience.[11]

Other acts signed to the Resistance Records label, many of which were previously signed

to Rock-O-Rama, include The Voice (Pennsylvania), Aggravated Assault (Atlantic City), Max Resist and the Hooligans (Detroit) and Nordic Thunder (Delaware). Nordic Thunder's own post office address also houses the Northern Hammerskins branch for Newark. Other titles carried by Resistance Records but signed to other labels include *Extreme Hatred* (Phoenix Records), and *Celtic Warrior* (DI-AL Records) Two aligned American outfits include *Das Reich* on *White Terror Records* and *Lightning Rod* on the *MSR* label (California), which also issued a single by David Hess entitled "Genetic Debris" a few years back. Smaller, up-and-coming bands on the scene include *Angry White Youth*, *Stronghold*, *Confederate Storm*, *Shamrock*, and *Vanguard*.

Resistance Records is fast spreading its material to the world-wide scene. Its distributors in the US include *Wolfpack Services* (St. Paul, Minnesota), *Hardline Records* (Sarasota, Florida), *Angel's Action Gear* (Morgantown, West Virginia), *Stormfront Records* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), *Eric Owens* (Los Angeles, California), *White Pride Revivalist* (Cleveland, Ohio), *Alliance Enterprises* (Parma, Ohio), *Life Rune Records* (Parma, Ohio), *Skrewdriver Services* (Aurora, Colorado), *Totenkopf Services* (Colton, California), *Phoenix Records* (Walnut, California), *Krowbar Records* (Baton Rouge, Los Angeles) and *White Terror Records* (St. Paul, Minnesota). Distributors abroad include *Tuono Records* (Vicenza, Italy), *S.P.E. Records* (Gentilly, France), *One Voice* (Segre, France), *FD* (Marseille, France) and *Viking Sounds* (Ar Goes, The Netherlands). Overwhelmingly due to liberal free speech laws in the United States, fascist organisations and their propaganda-makers have been free from



## 88 DIFFUSION

COMBAT 18, RESISTANCE RECORDS,  
and I.S.D RECORDS Distributor

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White revolution is the only solution. 88 14 WORDS

criminal prosecution. Resistance Records is exploiting this fact and seeks to build a high profile for itself by essentially bringing 'white power' music into the mainstream. Ed Wohlbank, Bound For Glory frontman, stated in an interview with *British Oil* magazine (issue 32), "I believe the left wing agitators really have no way of approaching Resistance and many people in America defend the sale of our products in the name of Free Speech". The Rock-o-Rama label in Bruhl, Germany was raided by police in February 1993, having roughly 30,000 CDs, tapes and records confiscated and has since been cautious with who it carries and distributes for. Blood and Honour in Britain were subject to raids in January 1995. Among the material seized were 1,000 pressings of *Skrewdriver - Live at Waterloo* CDs and copies of *Combat 18's* internal magazine.

A February 26, 1995 display of white family values, so espoused by the ilk of Resistance Records, sent shockwaves through the media. Bryan Freeman (17) and his brother David (16), bludgeoned and stabbed their parents and younger brother in their hometown Allentown, Pennsylvania. The young boneheads had made two trips to Detroit, on one occasion to attend a Resistance Records concert in Detroit, Michigan which attracted a turnout of the American Front, Northern Front, Northern Hammer Skins, SS Action Group and the local fascist skinhead band West Side Boot Boys.

The main organisation behind Resistance Records in its initial stages was the Church Of The Creator, of which George Burdi was a prominent, second-in-command organiser. Due to a split in the COTC involving 'Dr.' Rick McCarty, Burdi left the organisation

with what is said to be a good share of its finances. The word is that these funds went into the initial foundation of the Resistance Records project. Since that initial jump-start, profits from the sale of music CDs have paid for the Resistance Records magazine, which boasts a circulation of 13,000. Issue 4, Spring '95 was the slickest and largest yet at 46 pages. The centrespread featured a glossy, full-colour ad for the COTC. It prides itself as being more polished than its long-standing counterparts like the Blood and Honour magazine from Long Beach. Having dropped the nom de guerre 'Reverend Hawthorne', Burdi writes under the name George Eric Hawthorne. Other contributing writers to this issue included William Pierce of the National Alliance (which is now the most prominent organisation behind Resistance Records), Tony McAleer of the Canadian Liberty Net, and David Lane, an incarcerated member of the US fascist terror group The Order. Its contents make no bones whatsoever in regards to their fascist beliefs, motives and methods. The veneer of 'equal rights for whites' so espoused by the extreme right in the past to make headway for their organising has been replaced by a more true-to-form fascist face. Burdi's attempts to fire up and agitate his targeted youth-based audience are laid bare throughout the magazine in the form of his pompous writings and reactionary news round-ups which pretend to speak for a disenfranchised white race. Burdi is currently pursuing the same strategy as groups such as the HF, WAR, and

with what is said to be a good share of its finances. The word is that these funds went into the initial foundation of the Resistance Records project. Since that initial jump-start, profits from the sale of music CDs have paid for the Resistance Records magazine,

# Free Speech

All America is an insane asylum — Earl Pford, Naples, 1958, after 12 years of political imprisonment at St. Elizabeth's mental hospital in Washington, D.C.  
SPEECH • APRIL 1995 • VOLUME 1, NUMBER 4

Kevin Alfred Strom, Editor  
It is published monthly for supporters of American Dissident Voices. America's worst political radio program. Single copy price \$4, 10 copies for the same issue! CD for \$20. Back subscription prices are \$40 per annum, including several offers, and the usual tax tips, and printed materials from National Vanguard Books. It features an "Attainment" who don't... \$200 per year or more will also receive audio cassette copy broadcast. Manuscripts will be gladly considered for publication on terms, as are encouraged to a class copy in their possession as an assistant can be made sure. Our preferred format is 3.5 inch 100 disk format, but audio cassettes are also acceptable. Articles are edited and/or expanded for broadcast, and the editor responsible for the final form in which articles appear.

IN THIS ISSUE OF FREE SPEECH

- Skinheads and the Law  
Dr. William L. Pierce
- Music of the White Resistance:  
An Interview With  
George Eric Hawthorne  
Kevin Alfred Strom
- Brainwashing In America  
Dr. William L. Pierce
- Earth's Most Endangered Species  
Kevin Alfred Strom

## Skinheads and the Law

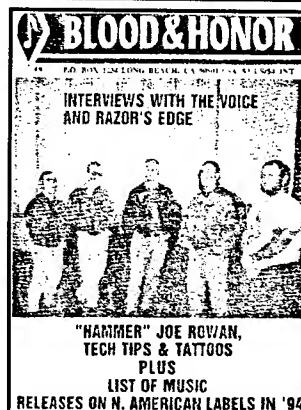
them in their teens and twenties, most of them working class. Many of them have tattoos. They usually have very short haircuts. Many of

*Free Speech: a propaganda organ of  
William Pierce's National Alliance.*

some militia proponents. This strategy involves 'mainstreaming' or 'softening' anti-Semitism and racism for the public under the banner of "racial separatism". To quote from a posting on the Stormfront list on the Internet, Burdi says "...any black man that helps us to awaken the White Race is to be respected and honoured. And if a large group of blacks joined with us and helped us to win separate homelands, that it would be a matter of the highest honour that they be respected and treated according to any treaty signed." Issue No 5 of Resistance Records magazine features an interview with a Black racial separatist.

Resistance Records, along with a host of fascist outfits, has its own Website on the Internet where soundfiles of the music, photos, lyrics and

interviews of the various bands can be obtained. One can even order from the catalogue via modem. The Stormfront organisation is the most prominent island of 'white nationalist'



activity on the Internet which features various resources and links to other nodes such as Ernst Zundel's Voice of Freedom site and the Nationalist Alliance Webpage. Existing also as a magazine of the same name, Stormfront originates from West Palm Beach, Florida and is maintained by Don Black, a former KKK member.[12] Canadian fascists who

is the *Digital Freedom* BBS, also from Toronto, which is solely run by Lemire and represents the Euro-Canadian Alliance (ECAL). Lemire also maintains the CPN (Canadian Patriot Network) Action Line and the CPN mailing list. Les Griswold is another shadowy presence, based in Ottawa's suburb of Orleans at the time of writing, who contributes to Upfront and has his home address listed as the Canadian contact for the US-based National Alliance.[13] The Internet has recently become the focus of renewed attention following the Oklahoma bombing and the utilisation of the computer network by militia groups who circulated communications prior to and following the event. An online library of *Patriot* is one of many resources which offer bomb-making recipes together with a selection of the most outlandish and reactionary conspiracy theories hatched since the Cold War days of anti-Red hysteria and reaction.

#### Under The Influence

Although a number of independent efforts have been launched on behalf of the younger offspring of fascist organisations, these youth are still under the wings of a number of noteworthy influences, political conditions, and key figures operating alongside and within the international framework of fascist activity. The long-time build-up of a backlash in America is reaching an apex. The extreme right-wing politics of Newt Gingrich and the Republicans are gaining ground; Bill 187 and attacks on

affirmative action have further marginalized and scapegoated immigrants, people of colour and the unemployed; and right-wing religious movements and anti-abortionists are building stronger ties with neo-fascist organisations and cells. On a somewhat lesser scale this atmosphere is currently building up in Canada also. In November of 1994 a Jewish abortion doctor was shot at with an assault rifle in Vancouver, BC. The Maryland-based HLI[14] toured up to Montreal for a conference at which groups of Hammerskins were present.

Conspiracy theories which have long typified the views of the extreme right, for example the belief that a Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) made up of Jewish bankers and communists covertly rules the world, have become popular in merging with most visible right-wing tendency in the United States. The militias represent the militant arm of the right-wing populist social movement. Their sentiment is anti-government, against gun control and paying taxes. Their

are primarily active on the Internet include Marc Lemire and Jason Smith who post material in <alt.skin-heads>, <alt.politics.white power> and various other 'white nationalist' subgroups. Lemire maintains a number of on-line projects and services via BBS (bulletin board service) which he has also resourced in the form of a 'White Power CD Rom'. Working closely on this front with Ernst Zundel, his online nodes run links to the Voice of Freedom site. The *Politically Incorrect* BBS from Toronto is operated by Christopher Saunders with Lemire as co-sysop. The most frequented board

#### Digital Freedom BBS

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Node 2 (416) [redacted] UsRobotics 28.8 V.34, V.FC

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SOON TO HAVE INTERNET E-MAIL AND USENET  
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Pictures (Gif, Tiff, JPEG), IBM  
utilities, privacy and encrypting  
files and a big shareware section in  
our 1.11 GIG FILE BASE!!!

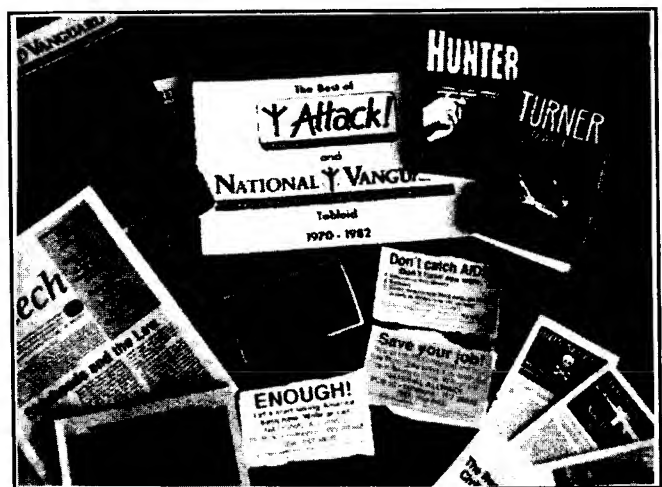
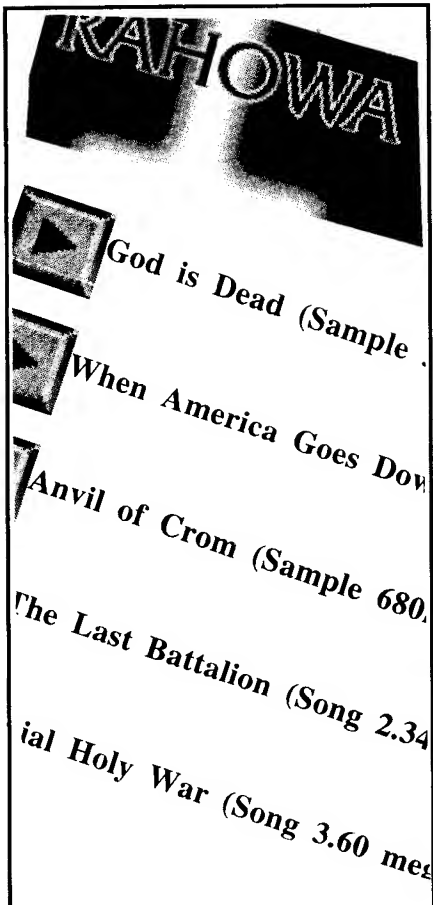
Look for files from the following  
groups: The Canadian Patriots  
Network, Heritage Front, National  
Alliance, Scriptures for America,  
Ernst Zundel, Institute for  
Historical Review, C-FAIR,  
Electronic Freedom Foundation,  
Spotlight, America First committee  
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enemies include progressives, immigrants, abortion providers, members of law enforcement and in particular the FBI and BATF (Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms). The militia make-up is a mixed bag not exclusive to neo-Nazis but consisting mainly of white men standing on the backs of those worse off than themselves, scapegoating the easiest and closest target in range.

On April 19, 1995 a 500kg fertilizer bomb packed into a Ryder truck gutted the Federal Building in Oklahoma. The details of the bombing were unmistakably akin to a work of fiction popular in the fascist underground, *The Turner Diaries*, a 17-year old blueprint for race war and armed uprising against the state written by William Pierce of the Hillsboro-based National Alliance. Along with his *National Vanguard* newspaper, Pierce also produces white suprema-

established. Terry Long envisaged a white homeland straddling the border when he set up shop as Canadian head of the Aryan Nations in 1984 following a visit to Richard Butler's Idaho compound. In 1990 an Aryanfest was held in Provost, Alberta; the ideal heartlands for a movement grounded in the influ-

ence of the *Posse Comitatus* and other American rural tax protesters of the early '80s. John Trochmann, an 'anti-government' survivalist who heads the 2,000-man *Militia of Montana*, claimed this year that he was swamped with calls from Albertans who were furious with Justice Minister Allan Rock's proposed gun control laws.

Charles Scott, a Canadian 'pastor' of the Aryan Nations in Chilliwack, British Columbia who began to feature more prominently on the scene in 1994, is also the director of the *Posse Comitatus* in Canada. Scott's formation of an Aryan Nations offshoot, *Christian Identity Church of Christ In Israel* earned him the title "Aryan of the year" at the July Aryan Nations Congress. Scott also targeted the Chilliwack Progress with leaflets bearing the AN box number in Idaho. He claims, "I have a congregation. I have trained militias here in Canada"; "...30 Christian and 20 non-Christians" but his supporters are estimated to be numerically

smaller. Scott claims he'll start a militia in Canada. His main man in Toronto, Les Jasinski, told listeners of a telephone hotline, that the bible requires them to take up arms (*Macleans - The Enemy Within, May 8/95*). Charles Scott was said to have moved from BC to Ontario in August 1995. Chilliwack is also home to the 7-year old *Christian Heritage Party of Canada*, which claims to disavow racialism but places biblical law over that of parliament.



## NATIONAL VANGUARD

Forward a New Consciousness; a New Order; a New People.

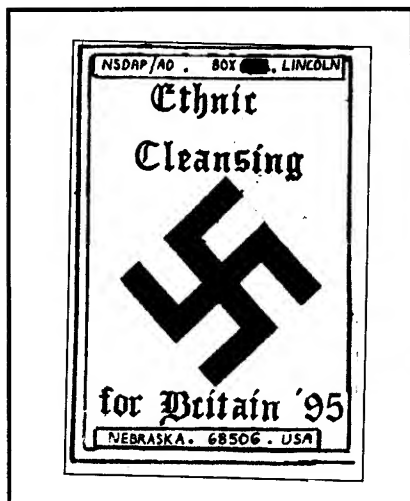
cist comic books and *American Dissident Voices*, a short-wave broadcast. Authorities initially fingered the Middle East as being responsible for the bombing but soon realised that the attack coincided with the April 1993 federal raid on the Branch Davidian cult in Waco, Texas. Also factored into the equation was the 1992 shoot-out at Ruby Ridge, Idaho between the FBI and white supremacist, Randy Weaver.

A number of fascist strategies are becoming more defined in North America, incorporating the themes of 'racial separatism', which are penultimate to those of ethnic-deansing. The Pacific Northwest is seen by many white supremacists and 'racial separatists' in Canada and the US as the site for a future 'Aryan homeland'. Some are, in all seriousness, suggesting that this will be the site of the final conflict! Richard Butler, who claims to have personally declared war on ZOG, views the Pacific Northwest with its relatively low-minority population as a site where "God's kingdom" could be



Charles Scott of the Aryan Nations: hates the government, but really wouldn't thrive without it!

Key influences presiding in North America who hold strong national and international ties include several figures who have been active over the years in cultivating fascist ideas within the youth of the movement. Among these, one of the most influential in the US has been Gerhard Rex Lauck of the NSDAP-AO (National Socialist German Workers Party - Foreign Organisation)[15] based in Lincoln Nebraska. Lauck, who claimed on German television that Hitler was: "...if anything, too humane" and says his group is heir to the Nazi Party, distributes propaganda at home and abroad in a number of languages from a confusing network of post office boxes. His wares include stickers, flags, tapes, books including *Mein Kampf*,



*The White Revolution* (by Michael Kuhnen, originally in German) and videos such as *The Eternal Jew*, the 1940 Nazi-propaganda film by Fritz Hippler. In 1993, Lauck sent abroad computer floppy-disk versions of a *Handbook for Improvised Explosive Technique*. He served four months in a German jail in 1976 and was arrested March 23, 1995 in Denmark where he currently resides in prison awaiting extradition to Germany. One of Lauck's current projects is the financing of a Moscow-based magazine *Our March*, published by the fascist *Union of Russian Youth*.

The Toronto-based fascist Ernst Zundel as well, is similarly interested in actively cultivating a base of

support in Russia.[16] Zundel, another major player and influence within the local and international fascist networks, has maintained an untarnished reputation for himself of being 'untouchable'

over the years. Even in light of the Bristow revelation, Zundel came out shining in the media as having been unscathed by the whole affair. Following a few disparaging television interviews of late, Zundel went on to suffer a number of setbacks. In April 1995 his television program *Another Voice of Freedom* was pulled from the air by a Californian cable firm. Ewald Althans, a leading figure in the German fascist scene, who was organising in Berlin as Zundel's protege, fell from grace throughout criminal fallout from the film *Beruf: (Profession) Neo-Nazi*. A German court heard statements from Althans, a shadow of his former self, claiming to have disavowed his neo-Nazi past and beliefs. Accusations were also in the air that Althans was a state-paid asset. Back in Zundel's neighbourhood, a community campaign had been formed named C-CANON (Community Campaign Against Nazis in Our Neighbourhood). In the early hours of May 7, 1995 an arson attack on Zundel's house was waged to coincide with the 50th anniversary of 'Victory in Europe' day. Damage from the ensuing blaze was valued at \$100,000 and Zundel's prized trial files pertaining to the book *Did Six Million Really Die?* were left in ashes. Immediately, Zundel pinned the blame on C-CANON and ARA but responsibility for this action was claimed by the *Jewish Armed Resistance Movement* which apparently comes out of the *Jewish Defence League* (JDL), a Zionist armed group. Zundel was in British Columbia on a speaking-tour at the time of the fire. An unknown group calling itself the *Anti-Fascist Militia* sent a package-bomb to Zundel's

house on May 21, 1995.[17] In spite of all this though, Zundel's primary role as a holocaust revisionist and distributor of fascist propaganda to Germany remains intact for the time being. The *Leuchter Report*, one of Zundel's publications which 'scientifically' refutes the existence of the gas chambers, is one of many publications originating from Canada which is eagerly picked up and read by fascist youth in Germany and reproduced in Britain.

The inspiration of youth has been but one strategy taken on board by fascist organisers and influences in North America. And as follows, the youth movements represent but one strand in the broader makeup of the international extreme right and fascist networks.

#### Back On The Streets

In Canada, the situation is becoming similar in different ways to the situations in Britain and even Germany. Fascist youth are increasingly regarding the far right political parties as part of the 'system'. Extreme-right leadership in Germany are now issuing calls to redevelop the national 'APO' or 'extra-parliamentary opposition'. This is to come from a substantial middle class, where only a scant 10% of the "faschos" are unemployed. Most fascist youth in Germany and France are increasingly (law)students, craftsmen, office workers, and soldiers. Britain's economy on the other hand has drawn most of

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its soldiers of fascism from the working class. Canada's fascist leadership reflects the middle class and recruits equally from the middle and lower working classes. As the economic situation ever-worsens in Canada, middle-class fascists like George Burdi will make increasing attempts to crudely manipulate the frustrations and unfocused energies of naive white working-class youth.

Neo-fascism, as in its classical form of fostering a pride in the value and position of one's ethnic grouping or nation and aiming to purify it of foreign elements, has become increasingly significant in the '80s and '90s following the Cold War and into a "New World Order" of which we have only seen the beginning. Groups like the Heritage Front thrive in this current atmosphere. An interest in their 'radical solutions' finds expression in the disenfranchised white communities that fascists organise within today. Youth on the street are going to be the main drivers against a society that caters to a select ruling few and cares little for its downtrodden and dispossessed majority. This class pride and strength is what the fascists seek to pervert to their cause and by doing so, this is how they have flourished so far. The fascist leadership, its revisionists, propagandists, and organisers aim to point society in a certain direction, manipulating the racist conditions of society to the cause of the fascist agenda. The time now is for youth on the street to employ radical strategies and build their own initiatives with one aim being to keep the fascists out of the communities and forward credible alternatives to capitalism and its offspring.

ANTIFA FORUM, 1995/96

A View From The Streets will be developed as an ongoing resource and requires contributions in the form of updates, additions, news clippings and information from your local area. All information treated in the strictest of confidence.



[1] C-FAR (Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform) is one of the broader 'fringe right' groups founded by Paul Fromm and James Hull in the early 80s. Fromm was the founder of the Edmund Burke Society and was also a member of the World Anti-Communist League. He has served to bridge the gap between the far right and 'political acceptability' in his workings with the Western Guard Party, which evolved into the Nationalist Party, and subsequently, the Heritage Front. Fromm got sacked from his high school teaching job when a videotape was released of his attendance and speech at an Heritage Front-sponsored "Martyrs Day" rally for Robert Matthews a member of The Order who died in a gunfight with U.S. law-enforcement agencies in the mid-80s.

[2] Don Andrews reactivated his NP activities in October of '94 when he announced a "European Heritage Week", aimed at support from white, middle-class families.

[3] Ian McDonald held ties with neo-Nazi skinheads, most notably in Ottawa, where he owned several housing properties that became stomping grounds for fascists.

[4] Wolfgang Drogue's activities grew out of the Canadian Klan and Nationalist Party. Convicted of cocaine smuggling and jailed for his part in a conspiracy to usurp control of the Dominican Republic to be utilized as a white supremacist base, Drogue went as far away as Libya to finance the 1989 founding of the Heritage Front.

[5] 'Creativity' espouses a belief that Northern Europeans are the chosen people of the Old Testament and America is their 'promised land', Jews are the offspring of Satan, and all other races are "mud races".

[6] The White Berets, or "Security Legions", of the COTC had been conducting training sessions in the area under the coordination of Eric Fischer. One participant, Grant Adam Gabriel died during one of these sessions in 1993.

[7] *Beruf: Neo-Nazi*, a film made in 1992 by Winfried Bonegel, documents the 'career' of German fascist leader Ewald Bela Althaus, following him on one of his routine 'business trips' to Toronto at the home of Ernst Zundel.

[8] The American Front is controlled by Harold Covington, a shady character from North Carolina who has travelled to Europe and is said to have been behind the formation of Combat 18. Covington has also been in personal contact with the Swedish *Vit Ariskt Motstånd* (VAM - White Aryan Resistance).

[9] The Silent Brotherhood was better-known as *The Order*, which also shared the name of the fictional organisation in *The Turner Diaries*, came into existence two years after the book was published. This was written by US fascist William Pierce under the pen-name Andrew Macdonald. He also wrote another work of fiction in 1989 called *Hunter*, which told the story of a lone murderer who targeted Blacks, Jews and predominantly, mixed-race couples. Pierce has a history of leadership activism within a number of American neo-Nazi organisations and is currently the head of the Nationalist Alliance. Another 'leading light' on the American scene, also an advocate of the 'leaderless resistance' strategy, is Louis Beam a neo-Nazi leader who had been arrested for his role in *The Order*. Beam's writings on the concepts of these strategies have been reprinted in one of *Combat 18's* various publications, *The Order*.

[10] Marc LeMire serves as a medic in the Canadian Armed Forces. Leslie Jasinski was charged along with Ken Barker for the September 27, 1993 hold-up of an Oshawa donut shop. The arrested police to another HF member, Phillip Grech, in connection with his role in robbing an Oshawa bank. A partially-constructed explosive device was found in his home. Among some of the other incidents of Front members illegally possessing weaponry, North Toronto Security Legions member Richard Manley was charged with illegal possession of weapons and ammunition after a raid uncovered an Automatic AR-15 (assault rifle), an Uzi (automatic machine pistol), a semi-automatic Ruger Mini-14, and 2,200 rounds of armour-piercing ammo.

[11] Issue 5 of the Resistance Records magazine (Fall '95) heavily plays up to the metal audience, much to the chagrin of its 'skinhead' following. On December 31, 1995 a "New Year's Revolution Rock Concert" was co-promoted by Ohio's *Life Rune Records* held in Cleveland, Ohio featuring the Oi-come-metal band Squadron who were flown in from Britain for this gig and another in Dallas, Texas. A further unannounced Squadron gig was held in London, Ontario (Canada) on January 6, 1996 opening for RAHOWA, Aryan, and Excessive Force. *Life Rune Records* are a distributor for Resistance Records as well as being the regional Ohio 'unit' of the National Alliance. On October 1, 1995 a public NA function was held in Cleveland, Ohio at which British historical-revisionist David Irving was flown in to speak.

[12] Don Black was busted with Wolfgang Drogue for his role as a mercenary in the plot to overthrow the Dominican Republic.

[13] The National Alliance has been broadening their base of support over the more recent years by inserting its members into a wide array of far-right organisations across Canada and the US.

[14] The HLI (Human Life International) is a right-wing Catholic organisation which has links with the American far-right anti-abortion group Operation Rescue and contains within its international leadership members who are avowed fascists and anti-semites.

[15] Lauck's "Foreign Organisation" is primarily one of a propaganda organ for a much more highly-organised outfit which bases itself in Germany but has groups and parties throughout Europe. The German "AO" defines itself as the "Formative Organisation" (Aufbau Organisation), which contains a network of clandestine NS groups which build the underground cadre, coordinate fascist terror attacks, and instigate anti-antifa campaigns.

[16] Zundel had sent Althaus to Moscow with the aim of setting up a base of support there. The reason Russia is of interest to mainly European fascists is due to the re-emergence of a pre-Strasserite 'anti-capitalist' interpretation of Nazism akin to National Bolshevism. Zundel, being one who espouses this view, believes that the creation of a white-power, anti-Semitic bloc in Europe must have its power-base rooted in Germany and Russia.

[17] The Anti-Fascist Militia, an ill-experienced outfit with no known background or credibility, sent parcel bombs emanating from British Columbia to various random targets. These included Alta Genetics Inc. (a cattle-breeding centre), the Mackenzie Institute (a Toronto-based right-wing think-tank), Charles Scott, and Ernst Zundel. Prior to this wave of attacks the AFM, also known as the "Militant Direct Action Task Force", issued communiques to the major press in early April which claimed responsibility for sending mousetraps primed with razor-blades to ten influential fascist organisations in North America. The targets consisted of Ernst Zundel (Samisdat Press), Richard Butler (Aryan Nations), Terry Long (Aryan Nations), George Burdi (Resistance Records), Tom Metzger (WAR), Don Black (Stormfront), Dr. E.R. Fields, Skrewdriver Services, and two Aryan Resistance Movement P.O. Box addresses in BC.

# The Canadian State and the Extreme Right

On Sunday August 14th, 1994, the shit hit the fan at the Canadian Secret Intelligence Service (CSIS), Canada's domestic spying agency.

That was the day the *Toronto Sun* revealed that Grant Bristow, a leader of Ontario's neo-Nazi movement, had been on the CSIS payroll since 1989. While working for this spy agency Bristow had been instrumental in the rise of the Heritage Front, a violent white power organization. Through him the Canadian government had helped pay for Heritage Front organizing trips across Canada, for high-tech spy equipment which was used to monitor and harass anti-racists, and for all those long distance telephone calls and plane tickets which enabled Toronto's neo-Nazis to develop contacts in Germany, Australia, Mexico and the United States.



Officially classified as an "informant," it could always be said that Bristow was not an actual CSIS agent. Yet a look at the Heritage Front leader's salary undermines the credibility of this denial. While CSIS agents earn at most \$40,000 a year and informants typically receive between \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year for their work, by 1993 Bristow was reportedly being paid almost \$50,000 a year for his work on behalf of the Canadian government.

There were literally hundreds of newspaper, magazine, television and radio reports about the Heritage Front, CSIS and Bristow in the months following his exposure as a police spy, and sifting through them can be a real headache. In this paper I've tried to summarize all of the relevant information. I have also tried to put CSIS' involvement with the Heritage Front in a historical and international context.

This paper was originally completed in late 1994. For a variety of reasons it took over a year to get it published.

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While I have tried to bring it up to date, there have been some political developments over the past year that require more space and time than I could give them here. The American militia movement, for example, which has been linked to thousands of "low-level" attacks across the United States, as well as to more spectacular acts of terror like the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing that left hundreds of people dead, is hardly touched upon. Nor have I made a thorough critique of the Security Intelligence Review Committee and its report *The Heritage Front Affair*. I encourage others to take up the slack and help to carry out the important work of exposing the relationship between the "far-right" and the "Establishment".

N.B. While I have referred throughout this text to CSIS' man in the Heritage Front as "Grant Bristow", it should be remembered that this was a fake name under which he operated within the Front. To this day, the spy's true name remains unknown.

## The Heritage Front



"The Heritage Front is a Nazi front, smash the Heritage Front!"

So goes one of the many slogans used by Anti-Racist Action (ARA), one of the few groups which physically opposed fascists in the streets of Toronto in the early 1990s. This is no meaningless rhetoric: the Heritage Front (HF) is an undeniably neo-Nazi organization with a penchant for violence and slick racist propaganda.

The HF was born in 1989, but many of its members had been active in fascist politics since the 1970s. In fact, most of the Front's early membership came straight out of the Nationalist Party of Canada, which in the mid-80s was Eastern Canada's largest fascist organization, well-known and well-liked among boneheads[1] in Ottawa and Toronto, with its calling cards turning up across Canada.

The undisputed leader of the HF has always been Wolfgang Droege, a German-born Canadian with a long record of involvement with racist politics here and abroad. Droege had helped found the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the late '70s, and had gone on to play a small part in the activities of the Silent Brotherhood, the neo-Nazi terror squad responsible for several robberies and murders in the United States in the '80s. In 1989 Droege had just returned to Canada after spending six years in American prisons for charges ranging from weapons offences to drug trafficking to trying to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island of Dominica, where he and an assortment of mobsters and racists had hoped to set up a base of support for their activities in the United States and Canada. At first the Front kept a low profile, but within a few years it had undoubtedly replaced the Nationalist Party as the place where the action was, making itself known

and hated in the various communities it targeted. HF members assaulted people of colour, spraypainted racist graffiti and handed out racist literature in front of high schools.

The HF also kept busy forging links with other racist organizations around the world. The group worked with Tom Metzger, the leader of the White Aryan Resistance and one of the most important neo-Nazis in the United States. HF members were also involved in helping to bring British Holocaust denier David Irving to Toronto in 1992, and a look at its magazine *Upfront* shows that the group was known amongst American racists.

The HF also approached other Toronto groups for support. In December of 1990, for example, a Heritage Front forum included speakers from the Women's Aryan Union, Canadian Alliance, and the Canadian Association for Freedom of Expression. Similarly, HF members were active within certain Reform Party riding associations until as late as 1993.

Of all the organizations it reached out to, the one that ended up working the most publicly and intimately with the HF, to the point that it came to be referred to as the latter's paramilitary wing, was the Church of the Creator[2] (COTC). This violent group espouses a philosophy based on hating Blacks and Jews and idolizing Adolph Hitler, Nietzsche and the group's late founder, Ben Klassen. Members call themselves "creators" and are known for their indulgence in steroids, weight-lifting, and killing "mud people", which is the disgusting way in which they refer to anyone who isn't white. Although based in the United States, the COTC has had chapters in South Africa[3] and Northern Europe for several years now.

The man who spread the gospel of "creativity" to Canada in the early nineties likes to be called the Reverend Eric Hawthorne (all "creators" get to be reverends: it's kind of a fringe benefit). His real name, however, is George Burdi, and his life seems to have been quite boring prior to his involvement in creativity. Once his career in Hitler-worship began he became a minor media celebrity, with cameras clicking as he engaged in street fights with anti-racists and gave "sermons" about fighting "human rats" and winning the "racial holy war" against the "Jewish Occupational Government" (JOG) and the "mud flood."

Burdi even sang in his own band, "RAHOWA" (it stands for the repetitive war-cry of all creators: "Racial Holy War"), whose tunes include a modified Nancy

Sinatra song which goes "One Of These Days these Boots are Going to Stomp all over Jews." Since the decline of the COTC in Ontario Burdi has been busy promoting such racist music through a Detroit-based company called Resistance Records.

RAHOWA's message of hatred is not lost on its fans. After one of the band's concerts in 1993 several boneheads went out looking for trouble: coming across a Tamil immigrant, they beat him senseless. The man slipped into a coma and is now permanently paralyzed. In his statement to the police, one attacker, Jason Hoolans, explained that he didn't like to see immigrants coming in "taking our jobs," and that the world would be a better place if there were only white people in it.[4]

Burdi and Droege hit it off as soon as they met, and the COTC was soon busy playing the heavy for the Front. In one escapade in the summer of '93, a Front member who was suspected of stealing computer and mailing lists was kidnapped by COTC goons. An imaginative bunch, they drove the suspect around in their van, punching him out while threatening to inject him with Windex.

The toughs in charge of this particular interrogation were brothers Elkar and Eric Fischer, both former members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment which was implicated in the torture and murder of a teenager while "peacekeeping" in Somalia in 1992[5], and whose members were shown bragging about "killing niggers" in an amateur video which ended up being broadcast on nation television[6]. Since joining up with the COTC Eric had used his military experience in training creators across North America.

## Anti-Racist Action



Opposition to the Heritage Front crystallized in the form of Anti-Racist Action, the most dynamic and revolutionary anti-fascist group to organize in Canada in

several decades. ARA was born in late 1992 as anti-racists took to the streets to stop a Front demonstration. The anti-fascists then organized in high schools and on the streets, effectively guaranteeing that fascists could not act publicly in Toronto without heavy opposition.

When one ARA demonstration in early 1993 was attacked by police on horseback (resulting in the temporary hospitalization of several demonstrators), people across Canada took notice. Six months later, following a wave of racist attacks in the Toronto area, ARA marched on the house of Gary Schipper, a founding member of the Front whose house also doubled as the group's headquarters. This demonstration resulted in several broken windows at the fascist's home and even greater media exposure. In a subsequent letter to community groups, ARA explained that while the vandalism was neither planned nor encouraged by organizers of the event, "our group allows people to express their anger against fascism and white supremacy as they see fit. We do not police anti-racists."

The police response to ARA's militant approach was quick in coming: within a couple of weeks of the Gary Schipper demonstration four anti-racists were arrested on charges of mischief to property and wearing a disguise with intent to commit an indictable offence. A fifth person was arrested several months later. (All five would eventually be found not guilty of all charges.)

Nor did the fascists call it a day when ARA came on the scene. The anti-racists' highly visible and militant approach drew them into frequent and sometimes violent confrontations with members of the Toronto far-right.

While the fact that fascists and anti-fascists don't get along is hardly news, the State's role in such situations is often kept hidden. Talk of the police cooperating with neo-Nazis against their enemies is generally dismissed as "paranoia".

Yet such a "paranoid" scenario is exactly what unfolded in Toronto: sophisticated surveillance equipment was made available to Heritage Front members by Grant Bristow, who was in fact all the while working for CSIS. Bristow taught Front members how to use a pay phone to break into answering machines, so as to listen to messages and gather information about the anti-racist milieu. (*The Security Intelligence Review Committee* (SIRC), the CSIS watchdog, denies this and instead claims that it was most likely HF-member Marc Lemire who taught this technique. SIRC furthermore claims that

the practice originated with Toronto anti-racists, and that the fascists were merely responding in kind.[7])

Bristow would hand out phone numbers and other personal information about anti-racists to his fascist comrades, and would demand that they do all in their power to ruin their target's life. (SIRC claims that this was an official HF programme which Bristow took charge of in order to keep it under control, and thus in fact protect anti-racists.) He personally spread rumours about ARA members, to the effect that they were terrorists and child molesters.

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**"Not only had militant anti-racists been reconstructed into a 'hate group', but guess who Stark had gone to for help identifying the anti-racists?"**

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On one occasion Bristow allegedly gained access to an anti-racist's medical records and bragged that he now had proof that his activity had caused that person to suffer a nervous breakdown. Such records are not supposed to be public, but it seems that this was no obstacle to Bristow: according to one CBC-TV[8] report that he was given wide access to all sorts of confidential police records. Sympathetic officers in the Toronto police force provided Bristow with the information he was seeking even after learning that he was a prominent member of a neo-Nazi organization.

It is not clear whether they did this out of a sense of duty to work with CSIS "in the national interest", or out of a sense of affinity with racism which many suspect is quite widespread on the force. (At least one Toronto police officer, Constable Brad Coulbeck, was charged with "discreditable conduct" after he was observed distributing Heritage Front literature and

attending a Ku Klux Klan rally in the United States[9].)

There exists another possible means by which Bristow could have established a relationship with the police. For much of the time that he was active in the Front, he worked as a repo-man, repossessing cars from people who could not make their payments. It is not uncommon for people in such a line of business to cultivate a friendly relationship with the local police force.

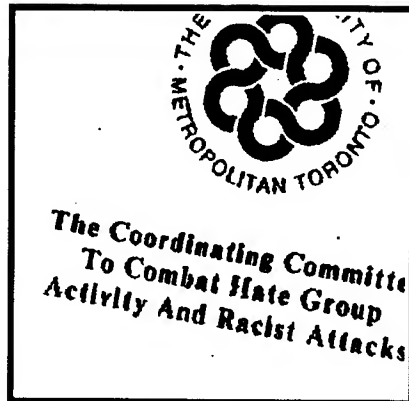
According to long-time fascist and gun collector Alan Overfield, Bristow had hundreds of complete printouts from the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC), the database used by police across Canada. SIRC merely states that "We found no information from the Source in CSIS files that Bristow had ever obtained CPIC information," and quoted Bristow as saying that "no police man would be so mentally deficient to give a print-out of a CPIC report", because all CPIC queries or printouts can be traced.[10]

Interestingly enough, according to Toronto neo-Nazi Ken Barker, Bristow pushed the Front away from its initial legal "aboveground" strategy into its well-known violent bullyboy persona. Barker, who was ostracized by Bristow when he clashed with the CSIS employee over the latter's plans for the Front, was found moaning to the *Toronto Sun* after the entire affair became public, "It was perfect sidetracking — these people [the anti-racists] were not our enemies, the government was."

His is the recurring predicament that so-called "revolutionary" fascists find themselves in when the State takes control of their organizations. Despising democratic capitalism because of its supposed anti-racism and excessive permissiveness, they don't know what to do when the system proves itself more than happy to work with racists and to make use of their fascist bonehead gangs to combat any real opposition to the ruling class agenda. In this case the joke is that the HF obviously wasn't living up to CSIS's expectations of what it could accomplish, so Bristow had to push the group to carry out the anti-Left attacks which are supposed to form the staple of a traditional fascist movement's daily diet.

But the joke is not only on the "revolutionary right": it is also on the "liberal left". If Barker actually thought that neo-Nazism was the road to overthrowing the government, he was no more confused about the nature of the State than the liberals who thought that the police were there to serve and protect.

## The Role of the Toronto Hate Crimes Unit



In 1993 Toronto the Good was graced with one of the oddities of the late twentieth century: a Hate-Crimes Unit (HCU), allegedly set up to investigate racist and homophobic violence in the city. It was as if after over a century of protecting the privileged and oppressing the downtrodden, all of a sudden (as if by Royal Decree) the police would start hunting down the politically incorrect and promoting "love" (the natural antidote to "hate") amongst the dispossessed.

As has been noted by others, were HCUs actually serious about investigating racist groups they would best start with their fellow-officers: Toronto police have killed several young Black men over the past decade, and have brutalized and sexually harassed many more people of different races, sexes and ages. The same is true in other major Canadian cities, for while police claim the legal highground in the fight against racism, their colleagues invariably kill and beat far more people than do groups like the Heritage Front and the Church of the Creator. Not coincidentally, the loudest cries for the creation of more HCUs come from groups which presently enjoy good relationships with the police, such as Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), B'nai B'rith and certain middle class Gay and Lesbian groups. Street people, prostitutes, people of colour and other everyday victims of police and fascist hatred tend to have far less time to waste asking the boys in blue to lead the fight against oppression.

Following the recent publication of the government's report on CSIS, Grant Bristow and the Heritage Front[11], even those who had believed the myth of police protection felt let down by the anti-hate crusaders. The report revealed that CSIS had learned of a "hit list" compiled by the Heritage Front and the Canadian Aryan

Nations of Canadian anti-racists to be assassinated in an impending "race war", a list which included prominent members of B'nai B'rith and CJC. While the Toronto Hate Crimes Unit was appraised of the plan, they did not see fit to warn any of the intended victims. (Further allegations have been made by none other than Doug Christie, himself a notorious Canadian racist, that Wolfgang Droege and Grant Bristow proposed initiating a continent-wide harassment campaign aimed at North American Jews in 1990. According to Christie, who is a lawyer, once the two Front leaders were informed that their plan would be illegal they dropped the subject[12].)

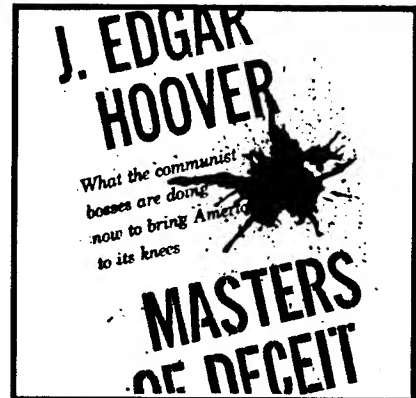
Yet if Hate Crime Units are best known as do-nothing facades behind which the police can hide their racist attitudes, the Toronto HCU seems to have taken things a bit further. On May 6th, 1994, when Constable Alistair Stark — head of the HCU — was subpoenaed to testify in the trial of the five ARA members accused of trashing Gary Schipper's house, he unapologetically admitted that HCU officers had been involved in spying on and photographing anti-racist demonstrations[13]. Not only had militant anti-racists been reconstructed into a "hate group," but guess who Stark had gone to for help identifying the anti-racists?

Under oath Stark testified that he had brought these photographs to the apartment of Wolfgang Droege where he invited the Heritage Front leader, Grant Bristow and Gerry Lincoln (editor of UpFront, the HF's magazine) to look through them[14], presumably to help identify "hate-filled" anti-racists. Thus the Toronto HCU came to collaborate with those it was assumed to oppose, while jeopardizing the lives of those who many had expected it to protect. Whether or not Constable Stark knew that Bristow had a doublelife as a CSIS informant is utterly irrelevant: not only had his ties to CSIS failed to help any of the Front's victims (as already noted, they had had the opposite effect), but unless Stark knows something we don't know, Droege and Lincoln are nothing but 100% unmitigated Nazis. Indeed, just two weeks before this friendly visit by the "anti-hate squad," Droege had been charged with weapons offences and aggravated assault for breaking the jaw of an ARA supporter during a street fight!

Despite all of this, some will insist on seeing politically correct policing as a goal worth fighting for. So be it; time will tell if that old saying about a fox guarding chickens still holds true. Less patience, however,

should be reserved for those who will insist on seeing Bristow as a hero in the fight against racism. Bristow may indeed have damaged the Front: an accomplishment that should be appreciated in light of the fact that the group would never have done so much damage without his help.

## BETTER DEAD THAN RED



Sections of the Canadian establishment have sought to use fascists against their enemies in the past. An RCMP document released to the *Sudbury Star* in late 1993 revealed that the International Nickel Corporation Ltd., better known as INCO, imported former members of the Nazi SS and Hungarian anti-communists, many of whom were likely fascists, into Canada to act as unionbusters in the 1950s[15].

These Nazis were brought to Sudbury to fight the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, commonly called the "Mine Mill", which at the time was a Communist union. According to the RCMP document, they carried out violent attacks against workers and initiated a 1961 riot outside the Mine Mill's union hall while police stood by and did nothing. These and other acts of violence were meant to drive workers away from Mine-Mill and into the arms of the less militant International Steelworkers of America. Disingenuously, Constable Andre Denneault, an RCMP officer attached to the Canadian Justice Department's War Crimes Unit, rejected the *Sudbury Star's* allegations on the grounds that they had originally been made by Mine-Mill members, who were Communists and as such could not be trusted!

Likewise, suspicions about the Canadian State's use of fascists have been raised long before the Grant Bristow affair. It has been suggested, although there is no solid proof, that the granddaddy of many English Canadian fascist organizations, the Edmund Burke Society, was set up by the

State in order to attack and disrupt the Canadian Left. What has been established is that several members of the Toronto Red Squad were members of the EBS throughout its existence[16]. To clarify what this means, I'd best begin by explaining what a "Red Squad" is...

Hundreds of police departments across North America have maintained units which spy on the Left, officially designated by a myriad of names: "anti-radical unit," "organized crime intelligence division," "public disorder intelligence division," "special investigation bureau," "civil defence squad," "secret squad," etc. These are all generically known as "police intelligence units", because the result of their spying is called "intelligence". On the Left such units are known as Red Squads because much of their work, especially during the Cold War, involved harassing and spying on communists and others who were known as "reds".

From 1956 until the 1970s such units were linked together in Canada and the United States through the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit[17], a privately owned corporation. It was during the 1960s and '70s that Red Squads were most visible, as they made all manner of unholy alliances to disrupt and destroy the energetic Left of that era.

Police intelligence units in the United States, for example, often carried out investigations on behalf of US Army Intelligence and the Central Intelligence Agency — both of which were prohibited from spying on US citizens. In return the CIA and Army would train and provide resources to Red Squad cops. For example, the US Army trained members of the Baltimore Red Squad in electronic eavesdropping and "surreptitious entry" techniques in exchange for copies of the squad's intelligence reports[18].

Police intelligence units also cooperated with fascist organizations, such as the inappropriately named Legion of Justice (LOJ). The LOJ was a vigilante gang set up by the late S. Thomas Sutton, a prominent Chicago divorce lawyer. Sutton first entered the world of right-wing activism in 1966, when he helped organize opposition to the open housing demands of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his supporters. Built around a core of college students associated with Young Americans for Freedom (a right-wing youth group active throughout the United States[19] at the time) and supporters of his failed campaign for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1968, Sutton's Legion of Justice first saw the light of day

when self-styled Legionnaires attacked students during a sit-in at the University of Chicago. By 1969 the Legion claimed to have nine or ten units in the Chicago area, each with forty to sixty members.

Court records, a grand jury report, and the testimony of victims and defectors establish that in 1969 and 1970 the Legion of Justice and the Chicago Red Squad (officially the Security Section of the Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Inspectional Services) mounted several joint attacks on the Chicago Left. These included break-ins, beatings and death threats. LOJ members used mace, teargas and surveillance equipment provided for them by the US Army 113th Military Intelligence Group and the Chicago Police Department[20].

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At the same time a similar scenario was unfolding in Detroit, where an anti-communist group called Breakthrough carried out violent attacks on Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam war protesters. According to Chip Berlet, an American who has studied the far-right for many years, Breakthrough was a violent right-wing organization which specialized in disrupting the Left. Although it was not set up by the police, its leadership was thoroughly infiltrated by the State Police's Security Squad, as Michigan's Red Squad was called. The police ended up in complete control of the group, but chose not to dissolve it, preferring to keep it around to carry out their dirty work[21].

Breakthrough "strike forces" attacked left-wing demonstrations hoping to "inflict as many casualties"[22] as possible, according to one statement by the group's chairman, Don Lobsinger. Not only was Breakthrough a violent police front, but it was also a close ally of Toronto's Edmund Burke Society. Articles praising the Detroit group appeared regularly in *Straight Talk*, the EBS' news bulletin, and members of both groups would travel to and fro

between Toronto and Detroit attending each other's events.

The Edmund Burke Society's activities closely resembled those of the Legion of Justice and Breakthrough. The EBS counterdemonstrated at every major left-wing protest in the Toronto area, disrupted meetings of left-wing groups and repeatedly attacked the Communist Party of Canada's bookstore, allegedly breaking into it, stealing files and books and blasting out its windows with a shotgun[23]. EBS goons were particularly incensed by supporters of the Quebec separatist *Front de Liberation de Quebec* and opponents of the Vietnam War, often making their opinion of such "scum" felt with fists and mace.

Michigan Red Squad officers (who controlled Breakthrough) and Toronto Red Squad officers (who were active in the EBS) already shared information through and met at conferences of the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (see Note 16). The similarities between the EBS and Breakthrough are perhaps a corollary to this secretive police alliance; to what degree Toronto's fascists acted autonomously and to what degree they were controlled by the police is impossible to say. However, the presence of Red Squad officers within the EBS and the group's ties with Breakthrough indicate that it was at the very least firmly enmeshed in continental "police intelligence" network.

Police intelligence units were never abolished. Although widespread exposure of its activities forced the LEIU to tone down its political paranoia since the seventies, police intelligence units have continued to infiltrate and disrupt dissident groups across North America.

During the 1994 trial of the five ARA members charged with vandalizing Gary Schipper's house the Crown (i.e. prosecution) introduced evidence which had been procured by Toronto's police intelligence unit. Earlier that year Vancouver anti-fascists had obtained film from the Integrated Intelligence Unit[24] (IIU), apparently a spying unit for the lower mainland British Columbia police. Throughout the video, police officers can be heard referring to activists by name, discussing their politics and friendships: clear evidence that the BC police keep a close watch on the West coast radical scene.

It is also worth noting that demonstrators in both Toronto and Vancouver have been charged with wearing a disguise to commit an indictable offence. Although the Crown has had little success pursuing these charges in court, the fact that people keep getting charged

with such an offence bears witness to the police's desire to keep radicals identifiable and easy to photograph. Besides the dramatic appearance of masked demonstrations, the use of a disguise as protection against police repression should be kept in mind by all radicals.

## A LITTLE BIT OF HISTORY



In 1972 the Edmund Burke Society changed its name to the Western Guard Party and adopted the politics of "White Power" and neo-Nazism[25]. This ideological shift resulted in the departure of many EBSers who were not ready to embrace the swastika.

One of these quitters, EBS founder Paul Fromm, went on to play an important role in the Canadian far-right, organizing groups like Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform and the Canadian Association for Freedom of Expression, which to this day serve as important junctions between the fascist and the populist movements in this country.

Whereas Fromm and those EBS quitters who joined him have spent much of the past twenty years trying to mainstream fascism, the other trend which emerged from the EBS never worked very hard at ingratiating itself with proper Canadian society. At first this tendency was represented by the Western Guard Party and then by the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nationalist Party of Canada. The latter, as we have already seen, eventually spawned the Heritage Front. With each name change came a new leadership, but the basic programme was always the same: fascism, violence, and cockamammy racial theories.

The activities and memberships of these groups have been closer to people's stereotypes about the far-right: an overabundance of society's "losers" taking out their frustrations in violent acts against gay people, Jews, people of colour and per-

ceived "communists". Until the mid-80s when Nationalist Party leader Don Andrews started recruiting boneheads into the movement, this tendency was small and without any real base of support. However, these groups did maintain a certain pseudo-revolutionary outlook and a tradition of extralegal tactics which, along with their contacts in the American neo-Nazi scene, provided a good foundation on which CSIS and the Heritage Front could build.

At first the "radical" fascists were quite hostile to Paul Fromm, who was alternately viewed as a sellout and a police spy. However, despite the dangerous image sought after by the neo-Nazis and the respectability sought by Fromm's crowd, the distance between the two factions narrowed quickly. So much so that by 1980 Fromm and other "legitimate rightists" were working closely with former members of the recently disbanded Western Guard. Over the past fifteen years, Fromm has remained one of the most important men in the Canadian far-right, keeping active in organizations like the North America Region World Anti-Communist League and the Confederation of Regions Party. From day one he has been supportive of the HF, albeit in a low-key manner.

The twenty three years since the Edmund Burke Society became the Western Guard have been speckled with evidence that Canada's police and spy forces see these gangs as forces to manipulate towards their own ends. What follows is a brief list of some of the more significant examples of this relationship.

### Robert Toope and the Western Guard



For 14 months in 1975 and 1976 RCMP infiltrator Robert Toope led the Western Guard Party in over a hundred illegal actions which ranged from spraypainting swastikas to smashing windows of Black

and Jewish religious establishments and homes. In testimony before the McDonald Commission into RCMP wrongdoings, Toope explained that he "would go to any extent to help the [Western Guard] Party" in order to "gain their confidence." [26] The Commission concluded that Toope's RCMP handler — Corporal George Duggan — was fully aware of many of the crimes Toope and other WGP members were carrying out, yet no one did anything to warn the victims or tip off the local police.

**"For 14 months in 1975 and 1976 RCMP infiltrator Robert Toope led the Western Guard Party in over a hundred illegal actions..."**

Despite his willingness to "go to any extent" to gain the confidence of his newfound friends in the Western Guard, Robert Toope's spying never broke the organization, and only prevented one attack from taking place: the planned disruption of an Olympic soccer game in which an Israeli team was to play at Varsity Stadium.

Only two WGP members were arrested as a result of Toope's work, and although it has been argued that his testimony did help dislodge Don Andrews from his position as Party leader, this did not remove Andrews from the radical right. The former WGP leader merely set up his own slicker and smarter group, the Nationalist Party of Canada, which most key members of the WGP subsequently joined.

Despite this ineffectiveness, it remains that Toope's actions inside the WGP are the least worrisome of all the various ways in which the police have tolerated and even strengthened the far right under the guise of infiltrating it.

## W.L. Richardson: Radical Right Super-Spy



In the 1970s William Lau Richardson worked for Centurion Investigations Ltd., a private security firm run by members of the McGarry family (the corporation's President, Daniel McGarry, was a former Toronto police officer). While working for Centurion Richardson used his experience as a former US Army Intelligence agent to build bombs which were used to incriminate radical trade unionists in a series of labour conflicts in the Toronto area[27].

For example, in 1974 Centurion was commissioned by Sayvette Ltd. to make it look like militant workers were engaging in illegal activities. Enter Richardson, who planted a bomb in a trailer belonging to the company. Richardson was also called upon to use his expertise in "labour relations" for Douglas Aircraft of Canada, Ltd. (now McDonnell Douglas of Canada Ltd.) and Ralph Milrod Metal Products Ltd. — a company owned by the International Telegraph and Telephone corporation — where he planted a bomb, hash oil and stolen tools in a radical immigrant worker's car. He also spied on Chilean refugees and managed to infiltrate Toronto's Anti-Draft Program. While carrying out all these activities his income was supplemented by the RCMP, with whom he enjoyed what he later described as a "professional relationship."

In the 1980s, following his stint with Centurion, Richardson attached his fortunes, and RCMP expertise, to the newest star in the far-right constellation: the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Richardson quickly set up something called the Klan Intelligence Agency, a secretive organization which was meant to infiltrate and disrupt left-wing groups for the Klan. Richardson infiltrated the Riverdale Action Committee Against Racism and the Communist Party of Canada (where he

was quickly identified and kicked out) on behalf of the KIA.

Whether the Klan or the RCMP actually controlled the KIA, or whether there was even any conflict between their agendas of combating the left, remains unknown. What is undeniable, is that Richardson's activities eerily foreshadowed the work that Grant Bristow would undertake less than a decade later.

## Carney Milton Nerland and the Aryan Nations



On January 28th 1991 a Cree man by the name of Leo LaChance arrived in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan from the nearby Whitefish Reserve. Finding the store where he had hoped to sell some furs closed, he entered the nearby Prince Albert Northern Pawn and Gun Shop to get out of the cold. The storeowner was there with two other men. He looked at LaChance, picked up a gun and shot two rounds into the floor. As LaChance quickly turned to leave the store a third shot was fired. Leo LaChance had been killed by Carney Milton Nerland, owner of the Northern Pawn and Gun Shop, Saskatchewan Ku Klux Klan leader, High Warrior Priest of the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ-Christian[28], and RCMP informant.

Two days after the murder, Nerland was arrested by the RCMP in the vicinity of Provost, Alberta. The day of the arrest, Corporal Andy Lawrence of the RCMP's Criminal Investigation Division in Regina informed Sergeant Peter Mesluk, one of the investigating officers, that Nerland was the RCMP's informant in the Aryan Nations[29].

That very day the Crown Prosecutor's office, in consultation with the Prince Albert Police, decided to charge Nerland with manslaughter. Based on Nerland's statement that he had not known the gun contained a third round, the Crown claimed there was insufficient evidence to show

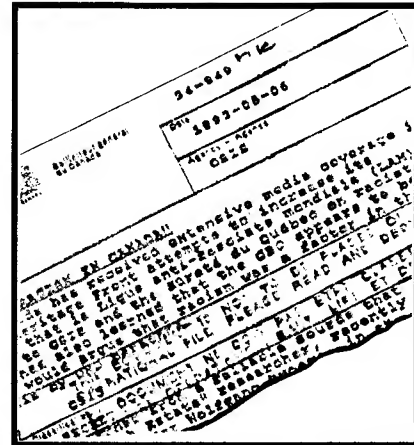
intent to kill. His political beliefs were dismissed as being irrelevant to the case, this despite his statement that "if I am convicted of killing that Indian, they should give me a medal and you should pin it on me."

Nerland pleaded guilty and thus avoided having to answer the questions that would have certainly arisen had this case gone to trial. He was held in protective custody at Stony Mountain federal penitentiary in Manitoba until December 15th, 1993, when he was released into the RCMP's witness protection program.

Nerland had apparently been working for the RCMP since 1989, the same year that Canadian Aryan Nations leader Terry Long had appointed him head of the Saskatchewan section of his organization. According to at least one source, he had also been working for the FBI since 1985[30], when he had been associated with a violent neo-Nazi group based in Louisiana called Street Action. On behalf of this group he had travelled extensively, making contact with several prominent fascists and neo-Nazis throughout the United States and South America[31].

As with other cases of police "infiltrating" of the Canadian fascist movement, there was no obvious gain for the Canadian people by the State's employment of Nerland, although it obviously helped the former high priest get away with murder.

## Other Cases?



Seeing as the RCMP, local police departments, CSIS, and the other smaller and less known spy services in Canada must employ tens of thousands of people, a half dozen incidents of collaboration with the hard right over twenty five years may not seem like much. What must be kept in mind, though, is that the government agents who engage in these fascist activi-

ties are not "rogues" or independent actors. Their role within the Canadian far-right is a result of policy, not of individual whim.

Moreover, while most cases of illegal activity come to light because police resources are spent gathering evidence and making a case against the perpetrator, Canadian security forces' involvement with the far-right are shielded from the public view by these very same police resources. Thus, these cases represent only that government involvement which has been exposed despite this police shielding.

The allegations about the Edmund Burke Society were stumbled upon by Stanley Barrett while he was researching his book *Is God a Racist?*, a study of the English Canadian far right. The information about Richardson came out during the 1980 trial of Daniel McGarry (his former boss) and Centurion's "operations director" William Nykyforchyn, both of whom were charged with conspiracy to commit public mischief. Nerland was revealed to be an infiltrator during the Hughes Inquiry into his sentencing in 1992, which was only initiated after much public outcry and the election of a new Provincial government[32]. Grant Bristow, whose highly publicized relationship with CSIS served as the catalyst to this document, was exposed when Brian McInnis, a former Progressive Conservative aide, leaked a CSIS memo marked "PLEASE READ AND DESTROY" to the media. Of all the cases examined in this paper, only Toope revealed himself to be a spy in order to help put a fascist out of business—Don Andrews was arrested and incarcerated, and this in effect terminated his involvement with the Western Guard Party (but not with the extreme right).

Exposing such police/fascist agents is not without risks, either. Rodney Bobiwash, an anti-racist activist in Toronto who helped spearhead opposition to the Heritage Front, claims that he and other anti-racists knew that Bristow had police connections five months before the story broke in the Sun, but said nothing because they had no hard proof and feared a lawsuit.

Even the mainstream media faced government harassment when it reported on CSIS's role in the Heritage Front. The newspaper that broke the story, the *Toronto Sun*, became the overnight target of a CSIS investigation. At the same time, the Service scrambled to find out who had leaked the story to the press. The RCMP raided CTV's parliamentary office with a warrant under the Official Secrets Act,

looking for videotapes and notes from a televised interview with Mr McInnis.

Subsequently, the Toronto Star reported that CSIS had used Bristow to keep tabs on a CBC investigation of neo-Nazi activities within the elite Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia, where several Somalis had died at the hands of Canadian "peacekeepers". CSIS was apparently more concerned with warning Cabinet members about the CBC investigation, which ended up airing on the television program *The Fifth Estate*, than about whether or not there were in fact neo-Nazis in the Regiment. When the Star exposed this CSIS investigation they themselves came under scrutiny from the RCMP[33].

All of this to say that there may be other Grant Bristows out there. Indeed, Paul Fromm's *C-Far Newsletter* recently provided a sketchy list of police attempts to recruit and infiltrate the Canadian far-right.

## THE CONTEXT FOR TOLERANCE

The Secret Army Organization is an ex-FBI informant, N... editorial of the *Los Angeles Times*... "crypto-fascist" group in San Diego... engaged in a range of activities... bombings, assassination plots and... was supervised directly by the... Godfrey has

State support for fascists is nothing new. The German Nazis and Italian fascists were both eased into power with the help of their country's ruling classes[34]. Even on the "Left" of the State political spectrum one finds that the so-called workers paradise of the now deceased USSR was more than willing to support death squads and even members of the extreme right when this suited its geopolitical needs.

Although this is not the place to give the subject the attention it deserves, it is worthwhile noting that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization pumped dollars, weapons and other forms of support into the European extreme right throughout the Cold War. Under a series of secret NATO agreements, a section of the CIA called the Office for Policy Coordination worked with NATO member-countries' own secret services and European fascists to form "stay-behind" networks which

were meant to be able to resist a communist takeover[35].

Such resistance was meant to be violent, whether the takeover was in the form of an invasion or an electoral victory of the Left. To prepare for such insurrectionary acts secret depots of explosives, radio transmitters and ammunition were set up throughout Europe[36], and fascists and other anti-communists were trained in the art of guerrilla warfare. Not surprisingly, as democracy is tantamount to Communism in the eyes of many a fascist, these weapons were occasionally used to destabilize and curtail the democratic process itself.

Such NATO-fascist cooperation helped spawn death squads in Turkey (where the networks were controlled by a secret "Special Warfare Department"[37]) which waged a genocidal war against the people of Kurdistan, and were instrumental in the invasion of Cyprus. NATO and CIA agents also created the Gladio stay-behind network in Italy, which carried out a "strategy of tension" meant to terrorize Italians into accepting an authoritarian, fascist government. This campaign entailed bombs being planted at busy marketplaces, train stations, and other public places throughout Italy, and as such is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Italians over the past thirty years[38].

Closer to home, police intelligence units across North America have seen fit to cooperate with far-right organizations even when these use illegal means to suppress entirely legal forms of protest and dissent. Although so far I have only mentioned Red Squads and the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit in this context, it should be noted that other agencies have engaged in similar behaviour.

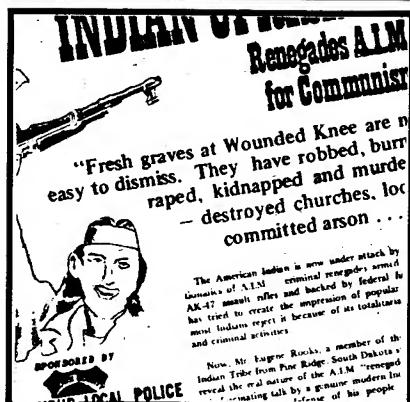
For instance, in 1971 and 1972 a far-right organization called the Secret Army Organization waged psychological warfare against the San Diego Left[39]. The group slashed tires, made telephone death threats, vandalized property, committed arson and planted bombs. In other words, it had the same *modus operandi* as Breakthrough, the Legion of Justice, and the Edmund Burke Society. Like the Heritage Front, the SAO was set up with the help of the State; its leader from the beginning being a high-level FBI informant by the name of Howard Berry Godfrey.

Godfrey was involved in the group's most violent actions. For example, on January 6th, 1972, he accompanied SAO-member George Hoover on a drive-by shooting of an outspoken Marxist professor's home, permanently injuring one person. He was

also responsible for procuring explosives that were used to blow up a pornographic theatre. The FBI did not frown upon these acts of terrorism; in fact, the Bureau paid for the explosives used in the bomb-attack and FBI Agent Steve Christenson concealed the gun used in the drive-by shooting!

Asides from terrorism, the SAO's value to the Bureau lay in its "intelligence-gathering" activities. The group regularly broke into the offices of left-wing groups, stealing documents which were then turned over to the FBI. The police would process the "data" from these raids and return it to the SAO, which could then presumably share it with other police or fascist organizations. One piece of information obtained in such a manner was a membership list of the Friends of the Black Panthers, which was described by the Bureau as the "biggest single bit of information ever stumbled across." [40]

## COROLLARY #1: THE STATE AND VIGILANTES ON THE ROAD TO GENOCIDE



Historically, most State and fascist violence in North America has been directed against people of colour. Throughout the 1960s whites organized into the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Councils firebombed, shot, beat and otherwise terrorized Black people and their supporters across the American South. These groups often existed under the protection of the local police force, which regularly worked hand in hand with these vigilantes to uphold racial segregation and inequality by any means necessary. Hundreds of Klan chapters were in fact created by the FBI, as part of its strategy of "neutralizing" the Klan by taking it over!

Nor was such violence, appropriately termed warfare by participants on all sides,

limited to the conflict between the White South and the Black Liberation movement. The FBI's war against the American Indian Movement and traditional Native people, in which State-sponsored repression took the form of a virtual death squad operating on the Pine Ridge Reservation throughout the 1970s, is a good example of how deadly State-sponsored vigilantes can be.

In 1972, Dick Wilson, a man who had previously been accused of embezzling tribal funds, was ushered in as Pine Ridge tribal president with substantial government backing. Almost immediately upon entering office, Wilson received a \$62,000 Bureau of Indian Affairs grant to set up a "tribal ranger group" — a group which called itself the "Guardians of the Oglala Nation". Commonly referred to as the GOON squad, Wilson's "rangers" beat, intimidated and even killed critics of the tribal government [41].

It soon became clear why the Bureau of Indian Affairs had set up this dictatorship at Pine Ridge: Wilson planned to sign over the northwestern eighth of the reservation to the National Park Service, which like the B.I.A. was a section of the US Department of the Interior.

In those days the American Indian Movement (AIM), an alliance of Natives who had grown up in urban poverty and others who had lived their lives on the Reservations maintaining traditional practices, was busy fighting for the survival of their people across the United States. Oglala traditionalists, fed up with Wilson, invited AIM to gather with them at the village of Wounded Knee, where they issued a public statement demanding hearings on the illegal abrogation of their treaty and an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The next day the area was surrounded by FBI Agents, US Marshals, BIA police, and GOONs. Wilson enlisted anti-AIM Native people as well as whites into the GOONs, who set up roadblocks around Wounded Knee and exchanged gunfire with AIM supporters. This semi-official auxiliary police force was provided with assault rifles, a limitless supply of ammunition and state-of-the-art radio equipment by the FBI. For seventy-one days the AIM supporters, numbering a few hundred, held their ground. By the time the siege ended, the GOONs were implicated in the murder and "disappearance" of several AIM supporters.

Subsequently, Wilson and the FBI actively spread lies about AIM being a Soviet-controlled organization and Oglala

traditionalists being a part of a great "Communist conspiracy." In this they had plenty of help from the John Birch Society [42], a far-right organization prone to conspiracy theories which is still active throughout the United States.

Not surprisingly, one favourite on the John Birch lecture circuit was Douglas Durham, a man who had infiltrated AIM on behalf of the FBI during the siege of Wounded Knee. Durham, who at one time was AIM leader Dennis Banks' personal bodyguard, had first become involved in the world of government repression as an informer for the Des Moines, Iowa police intelligence unit. When he was exposed in Des Moines he was "recycled" to work as an informer for intelligence units in Lincoln, Nebraska and Cedar Falls, Iowa, all thanks to an arrangement made between these Red Squads and the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit [43] (see also Note 16).

The GOONs instituted a reign of terror on the Pine Ridge Reservation. During the three years following the siege of Wounded Knee over sixty AIM members and supporters were killed [44], and over 340 others were physically assaulted. As has been observed,

Using only these documented political deaths, the yearly murder rate on Pine Ridge Reservation between March 1, 1973 and March 1, 1976, was 170 per 100,000. By comparison, Detroit, the reputed "murder capital of the United States," had a rate of 20.2 in 1974 [...]. An estimated 20,000 people were murdered in the United States in 1974. In a nation of 200 million persons, a murder rate comparable to that of Pine Ridge between 1973 and 1976 would have left 340,000 persons dead for political reasons in one year, 1.32 million in three... The political murder rate at Pine Ridge between March 1, 1973 and March 1, 1976, was almost identical to that in Chile during the three years after the military coup supported by the United States deposed and killed President Salvador Allende... [45]

Put differently, if the city of Montreal were to be subjected to repression equal to that inflicted on Oglala traditionalists and American Indian Movement activists during those years, ten people would be being killed for political reasons every day.

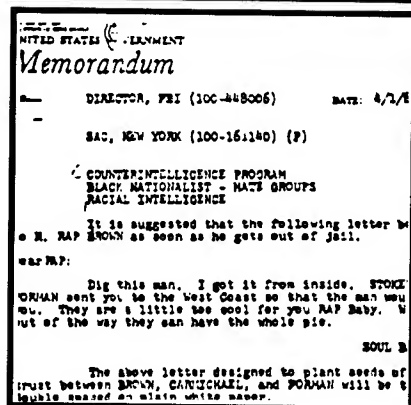
There are several reasons why the vio-

lence inflicted by Wilson's GOONs was in such a different league than that perpetrated by the Edmund Burke Society and similar urban vigilante gangs.

As was noted above, people of colour have always suffered disproportionately more violence than white people in North America. The FBI's assault on AIM was only one assault in a five hundred year history of genocide. Indeed, the site of the first AIM declaration at Pine Ridge, Wounded Knee hamlet, was chosen because it was the site of a 1890 massacre, where US Cavalry had murdered over three hundred unarmed Indians[46].

What's more, the traditionalists' plight engendered a far more serious form of struggle than was common within the mainly white left. AIM attempted to defend their communities, with force of arms when necessary, and had the active support of a significant section of the Native population. Not only that, but the cause of Native independence directly challenges the very existence of all North American States in a way that the left does not and can not.

## COROLLARY #2: THE STATE AND VIGILANTES ON THE ROAD TO TERROR



To state the obvious, anti-fascists are not the only ones who should be prepared to confront repression. Vigilante groups working for the ruling class can be organized to disrupt and, if we're not careful, destroy any opposition to the capitalist machine. Such right-wing pseudo-outlaws, in Canada at least, are generally far-right to neo-Nazi in political orientation. The political compartmentalization that leads people to identify as "anti-fascist" or "feminist" or "ecologist" (and soon, ad nauseum) becomes a serious liability when it stops us from seeing the ways in which our struggles

are intertwined.

To give a timely example, the past half-decade has shown a marked increase in violence against the environmentalist movement. Not only has the State targeted these groups, but private security companies and vigilante gangs whose specialty is intimidating the green opposition have sprang up throughout Europe and North America. These groups often have links to the military, as the case of CML Consultants, a Nova Scotia corporation, shows.

In 1986 CML put on a "communications workshop" for forestry companies and government officials. In this workshop experts were introduced with the claim that "their military background in the Canadian and British army included extensive experience and training in counterintelligence and conflict situations. This has proven to be very effective when dealing with the 'antis' who as we have come to realize do not always play by the rules." [47] CML's president (now and then) is Ian Fraser. Fraser is also a governor of the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda, a group with extensive links with the Canadian military and diplomatic corps, as well as with the Canadian far-right and the now-defunct World Anti-Communist League [48].

Whatever tactics CML suggested that its clients use, over the past ten years anti-environmentalist groups in the United States have increasingly engaged in outright terror, burning down people's homes, spreading false rumours, sending death threats, and even attempting murder.

To give one example, in 1990 a car bomb permanently injured Judi Bari and her companion, Darryl Cherney. The two were activists with the anarchist-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World and the radical environmentalist group Earth First!, and had received death threats prior to the attack relating to their work against deforestation. Nevertheless, it was they who the FBI arrested, on charges of possessing a bomb! These charges were eventually dropped and Bari and Cherney launched a civil rights lawsuit against the FBI. In the discovery phase of this lawsuit it was revealed that four weeks prior to the bombing, the FBI held a special "Bomb Investigators' Training Course" on land belonging to a logging company targeted by Bari and Cherney's work! [49]

Then there was the case of Stephanie McGuire [50], an activist working against toxic dumping in her small Florida community, who in 1992 was attacked and

tortured by a gang of men outside her home. They burned her breasts with a cigar and slashed her with a straight edge razor as they denounced her part in a proposed lawsuit against Proctor & Gamble. The local police claimed they saw "no link" between the attack and McGuire's activism.

And so it is today, that those concerned with limitless industrial growth and ecological destruction suffer the same kind of treatment anti-war activists received twenty years ago. Does this mean that anti-environmentalist attacks are all the work of neo-Nazis? Definitely not, but just as the Edmund Burke Society grew from a militant anti-communist organization into the neo-Nazi Western Guard Party of the mid-seventies, these vigilante groups may also be integrating themselves into the fascist tradition.

Indeed, over the past year such a "broadening" of perspective has already taken place as various anti-environmentalist groups join forces with the far-right militia movement. While in 1994 such alliances may have existed on an embryonic level, today it seems clear that there is a growing movement combining demagogic anti-environmentalism with Christian fundamentalism and wild conspiracy theories.

## CONCLUSION



If in our society the State is the seat of legitimate political authority, the simplistic view of fascists being lawless and criminal is obviously insufficient. Capitalists, multinational corporations and politicians dabble in racist, sexist and homophobic politics as a matter of course. The State's own gangs — the Toronto Police Department, the RCMP, CSIS — have seen fit to work with organizations like the Heritage Front and the Edmund Burke Society [51]. While most fascist groups are not controlled by the government, the State has clearly made its

peace with their existence. Their sanctimonious hand-wringing notwithstanding, the powers that be will only bother to repress these racist vigilantes if they become too uppity and step out of line.

So when we commit ourselves to struggle against fascism, we commit ourselves to struggle against the State. Likewise, if we challenge the State today, we should be prepared to battle its fascist stooges tomorrow. Those who ignore these facts do so at their own peril.

Certain anti-racist professionals seem quite naive in light of the Grant Bristow revelations. Nick Pouliot, formerly of the World Anti-Fascist League (the "world" here referring to the city of Montreal), is a case in point.

In 1993 Pouliot (while still in the WAL) expressed his desire to work closely with CSIS in his fight against the Right. Not only that, but he publicly stated that he wished he had the resources to collect information on the Left, too[52]. Later that year Pouliot was spotted photographing an anti-racist demonstration against the presence of leading members of France's *Front National* in Montreal. While he had left the WAL at that time, the group continued to meet with agents from CSIS under allegedly acceptable conditions (always more than one WAL member present at such meetings, and discussions strictly limited to the subject of the far-right). The WAL effectively broke with the Montreal Left in late 1993 when it publicly denounced a broad-based anti-racist coalition as being "controlled by Marxists."

Radicals should never cooperate with CSIS. In sharing information with anybody, you also reveal information about your own strengths, weaknesses, politics and work habits. This is not a matter of political correctness, but rather common sense. If our activities ever annoy the State everything we have ever told CSIS could be used against us.

While I hope this document helps to expose the ambiguities of the Canadian State's dealings with the hard right, it should be remembered that this relationship is not static. More work will be needed to successfully chart a course through the nightmare we are all living in.

Any volunteers? [REDACTED]

1 Much of the white opposition to racist organizing amongst youth has, despite all the hype, come from skinheads. These anti-racist skinheads, who claim to represent the "true" skinhead ethos, request that people refer to nazis with shaved scalps as boneheads. Having been thankful to have such anti-racist skins on hand when I have felt myself at risk of being queerbashed by less enlightened human beings, I figure taking my semantic cues from them is the least I can do.

2 The Church of the Creator ceased operations in Toronto in 1993, many of its members going on to join the Northern Hammerskins gang.

3 Racial Loyalty, April, 1991. Following the fall of apartheid, Jan Smith, South African COTC leader, emigrated to New Zealand. He was granted residency despite protestations from the New Zealand Jewish Council. See: "New Zealand Jews Upset," Canadian Jewish News June 9, 1994.

4 "Blubbering Bonehead Gets Four Years," On the Prowl #2.

5 Toronto Sun, June 16th, 1993.

6 Various news stories and television reports, mostly in mid-January, 1995. Predictably, many military commentators excused the racism apparent in this video as "taken out of context", rigorously protesting the Liberal government's eventual decision to disband the Regiment. Tellingly, many of these same men (for they were, with very few exceptions, all men) expressed horror and outrage when a video of a "hazing" of new recruits by members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment was shown; it would seem that while racism can be explained away by referring to the "context," the simulated gay sex acts as well as the scatological degradation (eating shit and drinking piss) which took place during these initiation ceremonies remain completely beyond the pale of the Canadian military brass.

7 The Heritage Front Affair, Security Intelligence Review Committee, December 9, 1994, Section 5.7.

8 "CSIS informant had access to police files, CBC reports", Toronto Star Aug. 30/94, p A9.

9 "Blue by Day, White by Night," On the Prowl #2.

10 SIRC, op cit., Section 5.12.1.

11 Security Intelligence Review Committee. SIRC is the watchdog group which is supposed to monitor CSIS' activities for the government.

12 "Canadian Jewish leaders targeted by neo-Nazis," December 22nd, 1994 Canadian Jewish News; and "Anti-Jewish campaign proposed, Christie says," December 15th, 1994 Canadian Jewish News.

13 "Police-Nazi Collaboration in Toronto," September/October 1994 Prison News Service; "Canadian Cops, Canadian Klan: Blue by Day, White by Night," Dec. 94 Turning the Tide.

14 Ibid.

15 "RCMP files say INCO used ex-Nazis to fight Sudbury union in 1950s," November 15th, 1994 The Gazette (Montreal).

16 Barrett, Stanley Is God a Racist?

17 In 1956 the LEIU was ostensibly created to ease communication between police units researching organized crime — though in fact many of the original 230 units in the LEIU had been actively spying on the Left for years before. As political unrest swept North America in the sixties, the LEIU became increasingly focused on political repression, so that (as is often the case) a project initially supposed to target mobsters quickly became a political police force. By the early seventies, the LEIU was basically a continental political repression network, keeping files on radicals on both sides of the border. Over the years, great care has been taken to maintain the LEIU's official status as a private network, even though membership is effectively limited to police officers, as this effectively shields the organization from the demands of accountability and openness normally expected of public institutions.

Most of this information on the LEIU comes from the book *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* by Frank Donner, published by University of California Press in 1990. Donner is a former director of the American Civil Liberties Union Project on Political Surveillance, and was himself a victim of political repression during the McCarthy era.

18 O'Toole, George *The Private Sector: Private Spies, Rent-a-Cops and the Police-Industrial Complex*, New York: W.W. Norton 1978.

19 Young Americans for Freedom also had a token presence in Canada in the early seventies. The group's Canadian leader was Greg Robinson, a man who had cut his teeth in the Edmund Burke Society, a group he left around 1971. Following his work with YAF Robinson was also active in the utterly irrelevant and unknown Canadian John Birch

*CSIS has denied many of the allegations made by the mainstream media and illuminated in this document. Most of these denials have been accepted at face value by SIRC. A further version of this document is currently in the works which will make note of SIRC's evaluation of these allegations.*

Society and in two groups associated with Paul Fromm: Alternative Forum and Canadian Association for Free Expression. Robinson was also one of a dozen or so Canadians who attended the fourth conference of the North American Regional World Anti-Communist League in 1983. (For more information on Paul Fromm and NARWACL, see "A Little Bit of History.")

20 Donner, *Frank Protectors of Privilege*, pages 146-150.

21 Telephone conversation with Chip Berlet, October 1994.

22 "Breakthrough in Action," unnumbered issue of *Straight Talk* (circa 1972).

23 Barrett op cit.

24 It was revealed that the Integrated Intelligence Unit officers who filmed this video were Constables David Reece (badge #1032) and Brian Hynes (badge #1081).

25 Barrett, op cit., page 78.

26 Ibid., page 89.

27 Ibid., page 138; "Made bombs for firm, ex-agent says" *Globe and Mail* March 21st, 1980; and, "Agent felt 'justified' in making car bomb" *Globe and Mail* March 22nd, 1980.

28 The Church of Jesus Christ-Christian (as in "Jesus was a Christian, not a Jew") also goes by the name "Aryan Nations"; it is an international neo-nazi organization based around a fortress in Idaho (where fascists hold annual "world congresses", often attracting many Canadians) and the teachings of Pastor Richard Butler, a veteran of the American neo-nazi movement. In the eighties some of its members were involved in the Silent Brotherhood, a murderous neo-nazi gang which engaged in counterfeiting and bank robberies and which gunned down Jewish radio host Alan Berg as vengeance for the latter's outspoken opposition to the radical right. Over the past fifteen years the AN has combined forces with the American Klan and boneheads, thoroughly nazifying both. The Church of Jesus Christ-Christian's philosophy is called Christian Identity, and it holds that "Aryans" are the true descendants of Israel spoken of in the Bible, those who call themselves Jews being Satanic imposters. No part of life is left untouched by this eternal battle between the "true Israel" and the "so-called Jews", nor is any social issue. The great hatred Identity Christians have for people of colour is justified by the belief that they are a weapon being used by Satan to undermine and pollute the aryan race.

29 "Führer of Saskatchewan", by Lisa Kowal, *Saturday Night* April 1993, page 15.

30 Ron Bourgeault, "The Killing of Leo LaChance," *Canadian Dimension* March-April 1994, page 25.

If Nerland was in fact associated with the FBI, it wouldn't be the first time the American organization was active in Canada. In the seventies the FBI sent at least two agents north to work with the RCMP. From 1972 to 1974 Joseph Burton infiltrated Maoist groups across Canada for the agency, with the knowledge and approval of the RCMP who were also given access to everything he learnt. From 1971 to 1975 another agent, Warren Hart, was involved in what the FBI called "racial intelligence" in Canada. He infiltrated various progressive Black groups during that time, and spied on Rosie Douglas, one of the veterans of the Black student revolt in Montreal in 1969. His surveillance of Mr. Douglas was used to get him deported to Dominica. Again, like Burton before him and perhaps Nerland after, Hart worked in Canada in cooperation with the RCMP. It should be mentioned that several other American agencies carry out operations in Canada. William Lau Richardson, mentioned earlier in connection with Centurion Investigations and the KKK, claimed to have worked previously with both US Army Intelligence and the CIA, although he said that while in Canada he was only working for the RCMP. Likewise, during the October Crisis in 1970 at least two US Army Intelligence officers were in Montreal on a still-unknown mission. While in the city they are known to have made contact with the local dirty tricks division of the RCMP. Then in 1982 the Defence Intelligence Agency carried out a one-year, covert intelligence project to learn every detail of the RCMP, including the federal police force's capacity to carry out unconventional warfare, psychological operations and anti-terrorist ac-

tions. Private spy organizations have even less difficulty extending their operations from one country to another. The entrapment of animal rights activist Fran Trutt in 1988, when Trutt was arrested for allegedly planting a pipe bomb under the car of Leon Hirsh, chairman and CEO of US Surgical Corporation, was the result of a long-term infiltration of the animal rights movement by Perceptions International — a security firm with links to the CIA and FBI. This infiltration included at least one trip to Toronto by a Perceptions agent who called herself Mary Lou Sapone, where she attended the 1988 Anarchist Survival Gathering and put her name and address on as many animal liberation contact lists as possible.

31 Kinsella, *Warren Web of Hate*, Harper Collins, page 174.?????

32 Bourgeault, op cit. Indeed, some observers felt that the inquiry failed to investigate the RCMP's and Nerland's political activities; it has also been suggested that Nerland was in fact the fall guy for someone else, and that the true extent of RCMP involvement in the Saskatchewan far-right has yet to be revealed.

33 *Toronto Star*, August 30th 1994, page A1.

34 Blinkhorn, *Martin Fascists and Conservatives*, London Unwin Hyman Ltd. 1990.

35 According to William Colby, a former director of the CIA who was in charge of setting up such networks in Northern Europe, not only was each NATO-member's own secret service supposed to set up its own networks, but the CIA/OPC also set up their own networks in each country. This was done because, in Colby's words, "A change in government is always possible."; Willems, *Jan Dossier Gladio* (Preface), Editions EPO Reflexes.

36 Ibid.

37 Serdar Celik, "Turkey's killing machine: the contra-guerrilla force," *Kurdistan Report* #17, February-March 1994.

38 Christie, Stuart Stefano Delle Chiaie, *Anarchy Magazine/Refract Publications*, London 1984; and, "Gladio" *Covert Action Information Bulletin* #49 (Summer 1994).

39 Donner, *Frank The Age of Surveillance*, pages 441-443; "The FBI's Secret Soldiers", *New Times* January 9th, 1976.

40 Donner op cit., page 443.

41 Churchill, Ward and Vander Wall, *Jim Agents of Repression* South End Press, and Matthiessen, Peter *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* Viking Penguin 1991.

42 Ibid., pages 37, 86 and 241.

43 Donner, op cit. pages 84-85 and Matthiessen, op cit. page 241.

44 This figure only includes people who were killed while on the Reservation, and does not take into account those who simply "disappeared" during this period of time.

45 Johansen, Bruce and Roberto Maestas, *Wasichu: the Continuing Indian Wars*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1979, quoted in Churchill, Ward and Jim Vander Wall *The COINTELPRO Papers*, South End Press, Boston, MA, 1990.

46 Brown, *Dee Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* New York Henry Holt and Company 1991, pages 439-445.

47 Robert Stanley, "Maurice Tugwell: the Art of Propaganda", *New Maritimes* June 1986, page 13.

48 For more information on this group, see *Watch-The-Right Pamphlet #1: The Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda - Exposed!*, available from Marginal Distribution, 277 George St. North, Unit 103, Peterborough, ON, Canada, K9J 3G9.

49 Judi Bari, "FBI Bomb school linked to attack on Earth First! activists", *Prison News Service* Nov.-Dec. 1994.

50 Sheila O'Donnell, "Targeting Environmentalists", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* Summer 1992, # 41.

51 Disregarding the question of the EBS' possible origins in the backrooms of some police department, the fact that Red Squad members were also EBS members, and that it cooperated with Breakthrough, a fascist group controlled at through and through by the Michigan Red Squad, which was in turn a part of the same Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit as every police intelligence unit in Canada, makes this statement quite justified in my opinion.

52 Francois Dumont, "La LAM en eaux Troubles" *Socialisme Maintenant!* juin-juillet 1993.

# On The Prowl: Anti-Racist Action And Developing Anti-Fascist Strategies In Toronto

*This article was originally published in Arm The Spirit #16 in the Fall of 1993, documenting the anti-fascist struggle in Toronto a year on from 1992 when Anti-Racist Action was formed to combat a resurgence of fascist growth and activity. As timely as it was then, the document still speaks to the need for building and developing anti-fascist strategies which will adapt to changing circumstances and struggle against fascism ideologically as well as physically.*

The growth of the far right in Toronto is not a new phenomenon. The Heritage Front is not the first Toronto-based fascist group but the most recent example of a movement which dates back to the 1930s: when the Canadian Nazi Party ran candidates in Toronto; when the Balmy Beach Club in the east end of the city was renamed the Swastika Club; when nazi thugs attacked Jewish youth at Christie Pits Park near downtown, youth who defended themselves and their community by physically trouncing the nazi mob. Even the nazis of the 1930s cannot be isolated from the history of racism in Canada - from the genocidal policies used against the First Nations to the history of violent racism directed against the African and Asian communities.

This ongoing legacy of racism provides the fertile grounds for the growth of groups like the Heritage Front and Church of the Creator today. It's the historical context of racism which makes some white people vulnerable to these hateful organizations, and the strong links between groups in Canada, the U.S., Europe and South Africa make the white supremacist movement dangerous to us all.

It is often tempting to ignore neo-nazi organizing and violence. It is sometimes easier to see them as misfits or isolated extremists rather than face the larger problems of widespread racism, homophobia and anti-Semitism in society. But the first step to confronting hate violence is understanding how racism and prejudice has played a crucial role in the history of Canada, and how the struggles against it - from the time of Columbus to today - must inform and shape both our anti-racist analysis and activism.

## Who Are The People In Your Neighbourhood?

Many of us in Ontario see neo-nazi, Ku Klux Klan and other far right organizing as something that happens in the U.S.; or in Alberta, Saskatchewan or Quebec - yet southwestern Ontario is the most active area of organized white supremacy in Canada. The region is perhaps the organizational centre for the Canadian far right.

The leadership of the local neo-nazi movement is very experienced, many of them having worked with Toronto racist organizations since the 1970s and 1980s. Some have travelled internationally to meet and work with their European and U.S. counterparts. Many have done prison time for "the cause".

The main public figure in Toronto is Wolfgang Droege. Droege has been active in the Canadian far right since the 1970s when he worked in both the Toronto based Western Guard and later with the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, where he rose to become the number two man in the national organization. Droege is a friend and "racial comrade" of both David Duke, the former KKK leader turned racist politician and U.S. Presidential candidate, and Tom Metzger, leader of the violent California-based White Aryan Resistance (WAR).

The Heritage Front was founded in 1988 when Droege and other white supremacists left the racist Nationalist Party of Canada. The Front bases itself on the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the organization formed by David Duke after leaving the Klan. The NAAWP presented itself not as a white supremacist organization but as a "white separatist" group concerned with "equal rights for whites".

"Equal rights for whites" has become a popular slogan used by the right to justify attacks on the traditional targets of white supremacy. Under this banner, groups such as the Heritage Front denounce women's rights, non-white immigration, lesbian & gay rights, Native land rights and educational curriculum which stresses anti-racism or tells the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust - all of which in their minds adds up to a conspiracy to destroy the white race. Like the NAAWP, the Front hides the blatantly racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric of the past behind rants against immigration laws, crime, lesbian & gay rights, affirmative action, perceived attacks on (their) free speech, anti-racists, etc. in hopes of appealing to existing prejudices in white Canadian society.

The Heritage Front runs a telephone hotline which is used to broad-

cast verbal attacks against the communities which don't fit into their world vision - communities which in reality represent just about all of us. It also plays an essential role in recruitment as the initial public contact point for unaffiliated racists and fascists in the region. The Heritage Front also publish a monthly magazine called Upfront which carries articles by both Front members and fascist organizations in the U.S. and Europe. It even boasts a regular column by David Duke. The Front holds several secret rallies a year often featuring prominent KKK and neo-nazi leaders and Holocaust deniers from the U.S. and Europe. (The meetings are not advertised for fear of a massive anti-racist response, such as that organized by ARA in November 1992 which shut down a HF gathering.)

Despite their claims of merely seeking "free speech" and "open debate", the Heritage Front has time and time again revealed its true violent nature. In June 1993, three Front members, including Droege and his henchman Pete Mitrevski, were arrested on assault and weapons charges following an attempted assault of anti-racists. (An attempt which sent several fascists to hospital.) The other Front member arrested, Chris Newhook, has already been convicted and is now serving a 12 month sentence. Another Front diehard, Elisse Hategan, is facing charges of distributing hate material targeting the Black community.

Droege himself has already done prison time in the U.S. for his racist activities, including three years for his part in an attempted neo-nazi armed invasion of the island of Dominica, which was intended to establish a base for the international fascist movement. One of Droege's responsibilities after the invasion was to have been running a cocaine processing plant.

The flip side to the Heritage Front's "soft" image is the Church of the Creator (COTC), perhaps the most violent neo-nazi organization in North America. The COTC has chapters in the U.S., Canada, Europe and South Africa and is known for paramilitary training and using violent attacks as part of its efforts to make the earth a "whites-only" planet.

The "church" part of the organization is based upon the teachings of the millionaire racist and one time Ontario-resident, Ben Klassen (who took the Hitler-thing full circle in August 1993 by committing suicide). Klassen wrote the "White Man's Bible" which serves as the ideological/"spiritual" basis for COTC. It provides a "religious" excuse for their violence and hatred by teaching that white people alone are made in the image of god and that all other races (or "mud races" as they call them) are inferior.

The Toronto COTC is the organization's main representative in Canada and among the most important chapters internationally. COTC people from the Toronto/Hamilton area have played major roles in the international leadership and the most popular COTC rock band, RaHoWa (short for Racial Holy War), is based here. RaHoWa and other COTC bands are crucial in fundraising for their violent racist activities and in recruiting young people and skinheads as stormtroopers. The concerts pump up the bonehead fans with violent hatred and "siege heils", often resulting in assaults on the public after the shows let out. In June 1993, Heritage Front skinhead Jason Hoolans brutally assaulted a Tamil man after a RaHoWa gig, leaving the man partially paralysed.

Local COTC boss and RaHoWa "singer" George Burdi (aka Rev. Eric Hawthorne) recently helped found a Detroit-based record label called Resistance Records to make and distribute neo-nazi recordings across North America and Europe. The label's first release is a RaHoWa compact disc entitled "Declaration of War".

The Toronto COTC also boasts a Security Legion (or "White Berets"), a group of skinheads who train in martial arts and weapons and provide security for many neo-nazi events in the city. Toronto media recently identified Eric Fischer, a former sergeant in the Canadian Airborne Regiment, as the leader and trainer of the Security Legion. Eric, along with his brother and fellow Security Legions member, Elkar (another Airborne veteran), were arrested during the summer of 1993 with a third COTC bonehead for kidnapping a Heritage Front member, assaulting him, and threatening to kill him by injecting him with window cleaner. Another Security Legions member, Richard Manley, was recently sentenced to nine months in prison for illegal possession of weapons and ammunition. (He's another Airborne veteran... coincidence???)

The fact that the HF and COTC apparently use different methods does not reflect a split but an attempt to build a broad racist front attracting all manner of potential recruits, from older bigots to younger mili-

tants. Not only do Burdi and Droege associate openly, but Burdi is often a prominent figure at Heritage Front rallies, where he either speaks or performs with his band. In April 1993, Burdi appeared with Droege at an Ottawa press conference announcing the launch of the Heritage Front's Ottawa chapter. It's apparent that Burdi (who was arrested for the May 1993 assault of an Ottawa anti-racist) is effectively the number two man in the HF.

The Heritage Front also acts as a front for the movement. As a public organization, unlike the secretive COTC, the Heritage Front is a contact point for newly initiated racists and fascists who can later be directed towards more violent groups.

The primary recruiting ground for both these organizations is young white people. It is from these ranks that the fascists, as they have done in Europe, hope to draw their stormtroopers. In this effort, local high schools have become one of the major political battle grounds of the 1990s.

## On The Prowl

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) formed in the Fall of 1992 to organize a street level presence to oppose the growth of the fascist movement in Toronto. The primary impetus came from young people, many of them high school students. Their main objectives were to oppose the neo-nazi presence in both the political and social arenas. The former was to take place in the high schools, where the Heritage Front were and are actively recruiting young people. The latter was to confront them in clubs, bars and other social arenas where skinheads and neo-nazi bands were beginning to build a presence and to physically attack people of colour, anti-racists and punks.

While the focus was clearly on youth organizing, ARA also set about to explore new and creative methods of organizing and to expand the boundaries of the traditional forms of protest in Toronto. The young activists saw the need to challenge what they saw as depressing, disempowering, and ultimately ineffective modes of protest which the left has fallen into. ARA aimed to move away from boring pickets in front of faceless buildings and instead build a militant street level movement to fight grassroots fascism which would at the same time work in coalition with other groups around broader issues.

Along with the critique of the mobilization strategies of the left, ARA also incorporates an inherent challenge to traditional political dogmas. Distrust of old-style ideological restrictions led to the creation of a political perspective which, in essence, borrows from the best of many traditions. Elements from anarchism, marxism, the German Autonomes, First Nations organizing, and popular culture are synthesized within ARA to create a political perspective which speaks to the people involved and allows the group to look beyond the constraints of any one tradition to attempt to create a new way of working politically.

A central element to the overall ARA approach is the cultivation of an anti-racist/anti-fascist counterculture. This has proceeded primarily through the organizing of regular Rock Against Racism concerts and also weekend parties, as well as the creation of an ARA "style". The group also actively circulates buttons and T-shirts [the group's motto is "On The Prowl" and their logo is a tiger leaping on a swastika]. ARA has recognized that one of the main attractions which the nazis have for young people is the sense of both rebelliousness and community which such organizations provide. The nazis certainly recognize this dynamic, which is why they have put so much effort into developing neo-nazi bands as recruiting instruments. ARA realizes that if it is to be effective politically, it also has to be "hip".

Few young people are attracted to fascist organizations on the basis of ideology alone. Most are attracted to the cultural scene first, through the music, parties, or friends and only later drawn into the movement and its ideas. Rather than ignore this reality, ARA has actively sought to promote a compelling, vibrant, and fun culture of resistance to attract young people and provide an alternative to the nazis. At the same time, the providing of an active social element to a political organization helps not only to keep activists and others interested but also provides a forum for people to build up the friendship and trust necessary for effective political work.

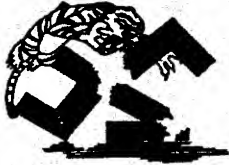
ARA demonstrations have been more militant and confrontational than has traditionally been the case in Toronto. The events have consistently drawn large numbers and their atmosphere of anger and a willingness to meet the fascists face-to-face have both intimidated the neo-nazis while attracting the attention of the police and the press.

For example, a large and determined demonstration in November 1992 outside a "secret" Heritage Front meeting at the Roma Restaurant caused the police to shut the meeting down. Angry nazis were forced to flee under police protection while at the same time trying to avoid the

# SMASH THE NAZI FRONT

**On January 25 neo-nazi hate groups will march on a Human Rights hearing to intimidate and silence those who speak out against racism and hatred. Anti-racists will gather at the south end of Queen's Park at 8:15 a.m. to march on the courts and confront Toronto's fascist movement.**

The Heritage Front's telephone hotline is facing a challenge under the Ontario Human Rights Code.



## NO to racism, NO to fascism, NEVER AGAIN

### ANTI-RACIST ACTION

hail of eggs thrown at them by the demonstrators.

A January 25, 1993 demonstration called outside a Toronto courthouse was to be a pivotal moment in shaping the organization. The Canadian Human Rights Commission has been in the process of hearing a complaint brought by the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto against the Front's telephone hotline. An announced fascist march on the courthouse in support of the Heritage Front was met by an ARA demonstration of over 500 people who blocked the main doors to the building.

Rather than take the small contingent of nazis into the courthouse through the back door, the police instead chose to charge the anti-racists from two sides. Mounted police rode into the front line of the demonstration, trampling people and whacking them with riding crops, while officers on foot rushed into one side, kicking and punching anti-racists as they did so. The "reason" for the attack was to move the ARA demonstration to allow the nazis to walk past and into the front doors of the court. Several demonstrators required brief hospitalization.

During the media circus which followed, both Police Chief William McCormack and Metro Police Services Board chair Susan Eng admitted in the press that the reason the nazis were not taken in through one of the four alternative entrances was because Droege demanded to be taken in the main doors (which raises the question of who is actually giving the order for police to attack anti-racists?).

Inside the courtroom itself, police continued their attacks by assaulting members of the American Indian Movement who were acting as security for Native Centre representative, Rodney Bobiwash. AIM members were thrown to the floor by police and handcuffed after they intervened to protect Bobiwash from an assault by Heritage Front supporters. After the demonstration, two ARA members were arrested on their way home on bogus charges of assaulting police, one for allegedly throwing an egg the other for spitting. (The two anti-fascists, one of whom was a minor at the time of the incident, were eventually convicted of lesser charges and received probation).

The persons targeted for arrest are significant. Both were on the front line of the demonstration and played active roles in repelling the horse charge, and one was also the final public ARA speaker at the demonstration dispersal point.

Despite the police attack and the arrests, most saw the demonstration as a huge success. Not only did anti-racists outnumber the nazis by more than ten to one, but the attack clearly revealed on which side the police stood. The aftermath of the 25th also revealed on which side other anti-racist organizations fall in a crisis.

On January 27th, both the Human Rights League of B'nai Brith and the Canadian Jewish Congress denounced the demonstration in the media. Karen Mock, national spokesperson for B'nai Brith, accused ARA of "jumping on a bandwagon and using this high profile anti-racist initiative to attempt to create disorder and take the law in their own hands."

Gerda Frieberg of the CJC stated that "The Canadian Jewish Congress does not support these kind of actions." It was clear to some that the self-serving media ploy by B'nai Brith and CJC was intended more to solidify and justify their own close working relationships with police rather than advance the anti-racist movement. Indeed, recent revelations in the U.S. of Anti-Defamation League (B'nai Brith's U.S. counterpart) collaboration with the San Francisco Police Department in spying on progressive and leftist organizations should certainly make committed anti-racists in Toronto wary of that organization's true political goals.

The denunciation by these organizations was also significant in that it played directly to the police and media propaganda line of separating "legitimate" anti-racist groups from "illegitimate" ones, thereby hoping to criminalize ARA and justify unprovoked police violence against the

demonstration. However, much of that attempt was derailed in the community, if not in the press itself, by the fact that such "legitimate" groups as the Native Canadian Centre and the Montreal-based Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudice (as well as representatives from the Black community, women's movement, and labour movement) supported ARA completely and publicly denounced the police's actions.

Although ARA continued to organize actions following the January 25th police attack, including demonstrations against local school teacher Paul Fromm, who has been active in the Toronto Far Right for the past 25 years, the next major event did not occur until June 11th.

## Behind The Front

While the Heritage Front and the Church of the Creator maintain publicly that they are not violent groups but are merely interested in open debate on the issues, their behaviour to date reveals quite the opposite. In response to community action on many levels against the HF and COTC, the nazis have slowly been waging an escalating terror campaign against anti-racists. This campaign has primarily manifested itself in patterns of harassment and intimidation, but has recently moved into violent physical attacks.

The campaign began in the fall of 1992. On the night of November 28th, nazis painted swastikas outside several prominent anti-racist targets in Toronto including the Native Canadian Centre and a socialist bookstore. Other targets hit at that same time which were not mentioned in media reports were KYTES, a community theatre and employment centre in Kensington Market which at that time was serving as ARA's regular meeting place, as well as the home of an ARA member.

This was followed quite quickly by a campaign of harassing and later threatening phone calls to some ARA members. While several people received calls, the fascists chose to concentrate their efforts against women. This targeting of women has been their pattern since that time, an obvious reflection of their inherent misogyny. While men have received calls, the harassment for the most part has not been of the same violent intensity as that against women and has not continued past a period of two weeks.

One woman was also targeted physically for surveillance, and the nazis placed people in cars outside her home to follow her and track her movements, who she met with, etc. Another woman was the subject of a racist flyer containing attacks against the Black community while listing her name, address, and phone number as the contact person for the fictitious white supremacist group which claimed authorship of the flyer. The intention was to give the false impression that the anti-racist activist was a nazi and thereby subject her to harassment from members of the community.

These attacks soon escalated from intimidation tactics to physical assault and arson. During the spring a campaign of terror was waged against Youthlink, two shelters for young women. Early in 1993 a Heritage Front member who was a resident of the shelter was ejected by the staff for intimidating other residents by wearing nazi paraphernalia and bringing racist materials into the shelter.

The nazis responded to this by launching a series of lesbophobic attacks against Youthlink staff on their hotline. A campaign of threatening phone calls and physical surveillance of staff ensued which eventually culminated in an arson attack against one of the shelters in late March. A staff member was also assaulted in her home by skinheads. During that same period, a member of the Black Action Defence Committee (the main Toronto group organizing against police racism and violence) was attacked by five nazis one evening after leaving the BADC office.

In our analysis, this slow and deliberate escalation of violence is not haphazard but calculated. The slow escalation has two identifiable goals for the movement. The first is to test the response of police. The nazis need to see how far they can push things before feeling pressure from law enforcement. Thus far, the fascists have received little or no interest from police in regards to these attacks. The Heritage Front is also testing the resolve of anti-racist forces, again to see what the response will be from the left. Unfortunately, apart from a few significant solidarity links being made between anti-racist and other community organizations, the response has similarly been quiet.

The second goal for the fascists is simply practice. We know that the nazis engage in various forms of physical and paramilitary training both in the Toronto area and with contacts in the U.S. This slow escalation is allowing their stormtroopers to put their training into practice in increasingly violent scenarios. This again allows the fascists to test their own capabilities and the commitment of different individuals, while also learning and preparing for what they see as the soon to begin Racial Holy War. As the summer grew closer, the nazis began to dramatically increase the level of violence. As mentioned earlier, in April the Heritage Front

announced the formation of an Ottawa chapter. The inaugural event of the Ottawa HF was to be a "Rock for Racism" concert to be held on May 29th featuring Canadian Neo-nazi bands RaHoWa and Aryan.

Anti-racists in Ottawa quickly began to mobilize against the proposed concert, eventually forming a coalition among various groups. ARA was invited to send a delegation from Toronto, and about 50 anti-fascists made the trip by bus. Despite gathering a crowd of 600 to confront the nazis, the liberalism and collaboration with police on the part of some of the coalition organizers plagued the action from the start (the specifics of which are discussed later). This conflict between liberal and militant elements among the demonstrators eventually led to a situation where many of the people wanting to confront the nazis and close down the concert were abandoned by the demo organizers, resulting in violent attacks on the few local anti-racists left behind at the scene. Skinheads brutally beat several demonstrators, hospitalizing half a dozen. The hundred nazis present then marched on the Canadian Parliament building where leader Droege announced to the seig heiling crowd that one day these building would be theirs.

The Heritage Front and COTC clearly saw the events of May 29th as a victory which provided a major boost to their morale. They crowed about their victory in Ottawa over their hotline for days and there was a marked increase in violent neo-nazi attacks in Toronto, particularly directed against the Tamil community. The week following Ottawa, a Heritage Front skinhead named Jason Hoolans brutally beat a Tamil man outside a Toronto restaurant, resulting in the man's being hospitalized and partially paralysed. Hoolans was on his way home from a RaHoWa gig in the north of the city when the attack occurred.

## Shut 'Em Down

It was in this context of increasing violence and displays of bravado by the neo-nazis that ARA's next action took place. A demonstration was called for June 11th to march on a neo-nazi centre of operations. The actual destination of the demo was unknown except to a few ARA organizers. The rationale for the secret destination was a tactical one - if ARA announced the exact destination, the demonstrators would most likely encounter not only a sizeable and armed contingent of skinheads but also an even more sizeable and better armed contingent of police. Rather than tangle with cops on horseback again, ARA chose a different strategy.

Organizers chose as the meeting place a community centre only four blocks south of the home of prominent nazi publisher Ernst Zundel.

**REACT TO FASCIST ATTACKS**

# SHUT 'EM DOWN

Over 500 hate crimes are committed every year in Toronto. White supremacists are showing their ugly face - and violent acts by local Nazis are escalating.

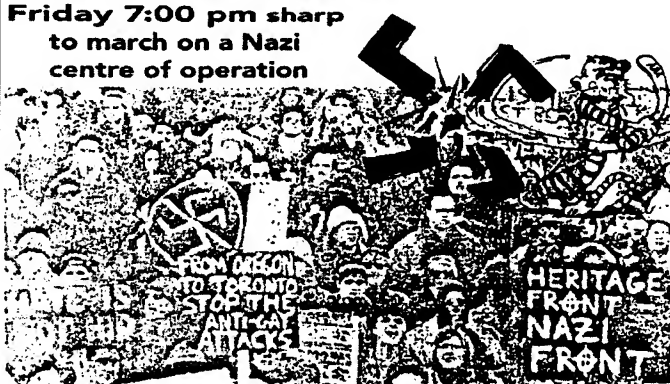
For example:

- **ARSON** attack and terror campaign on residence for young women
- **ASSAULT:** Five-on-one physical attack on Black community activist
- **HARASSMENT:** continued threats to anti-racists

**JUNE 11, 1993 - WE FIGHT BACK.**

**Assemble at John Innes Community Centre,  
Sherbourne and Queen Sts.**

**Friday 7:00 pm sharp  
to march on a Nazi  
centre of operation**



## ANTI-RACIST ACTION

P.O. BOX 664, STN. C, TORONTO, ONT. M6J 3S1

co-sponsored by Toronto Anti-Racist Youth Initiative

Zundel's home is a well known location in the city and, as one of the main suppliers of hate material internationally, his home/office is of major significance to both fascists and anti-fascists. Because of the location of the meeting place, dozens of police gathered outside Zundel's house (which had been covered in plastic by its owner to protect it from the expected onslaught of eggs and paint bombs.) Fifty or more skinheads were also present to "defend Zundel's house" from anti-fascist attack - an attack which never materialized when, to the surprise and outrage of the cops and nazis, the ARA demonstration piled onto streetcars and headed east to the home of Gary Schipper - the voice of the Heritage Front hate-line.

As the phalanx of 300 demonstrators marched up the residential street, ARA marshals passed out information flyers to the participants identifying the still secret site and the reasons for the action. Other ARA people went door-to-door to pass out similar flyers containing Schipper's photo and address to the residents of the largely immigrant neighbourhood and explain to them the intentions of the demonstration.

After reaching the house, with eggs flying through the air, a dozen or more demonstrators expressed their outrage in a more direct fashion by rushing the house and smashing windows. After the direct action was over, and the speeches had been completed, the demonstration withdrew from the neighbourhood. In one instant, the fight had been taken right to nazis' door in a way that had not occurred anywhere else in Canada. The implications for the fascists were clear - we knew who they were, we knew their faces, we knew where they lived and where they met, and we would not be intimidated by their violence.

A controlled expression of community anger had been accomplished, one which made that anger and resolve clear in a direct and militant fashion, yet one so controlled and disciplined on the part of demonstrators that no other residents' property was damaged. No parked cars were touched, no other homes were touched, no gardens were trampled - only one building was the target, and that target was identified and dealt with. Because the Zundel bluff was so effective, no nazis were there and so few cops that the demonstrators were allowed to enter and leave the neighbourhood without incident (Except for Heritage Front leader Wolfgang Droege appearing in his car with 5 skinheads to verbally threaten demonstrators waiting to disperse afterwards. Mr. Droege received a smashed windshield for his efforts and his small gang quickly sped away.)

Late that evening - in a poorly planned and executed attempt at retaliation - a gang of thirty skinheads armed with baseball bats converged on a popular club frequented by ARA people and other anti-racists. The location was doubly significant in that the club itself had been a popular nazi hang-out until they were driven out by local anti-racists a few months earlier.

Despite being outnumbered three to one, the few anti-racists present defended themselves and chased the skinheads out. Several nazis, including leader Droege, were beaten and hospitalized. Droege was later to be arrested and charged with aggravated assault on one of two anti-racists seriously injured. Also arrested that night was another Heritage Front leader named Pete Mitrevski and a skinhead named Chris Newhook. Newhook has since been convicted of assaulting police and possession of a dangerous weapon (a baseball bat with "SS" carved into it) and was sentenced to twelve months.

The response to the events of June 11th was swift from all directions. The media, as could be expected, had a field day condemning ARA as terrorists adopting the same tactics as the fascists, etc, etc. However, what separated this action from January 25th, at least in the media, was that no non-governmental anti-racist organization dared publicly denounce ARA or the June 11th action. While this did not stop various columnists from venting their misplaced moral outrage for several weeks following the demo, it did make the criticisms ring quite hollow when even the most conservative of anti-racist groups would not join the reporters' crusade.

A sampling of the public comments by other anti-racists went:

*"Extreme...but justified"*

- Dudley Laws, Black Action Defense Committee

*"The problem is...the police and the attorney general's office have not been co-operating. They have not used legislation as a means to stop the hate-mongering. Young people...understandably get very frustrated and wrongly take the law into their own hands. I really hold the people who are in the position of authority responsible at this point because they have chosen to do nothing [about hate crimes]."*

- Bernie Farber, Canadian Jewish Congress

*"If the rallying cry for all anti-racists is "Never Again" then no one is pressing this at the moment any more than activist groups such as ARA. If Canadian governmental authority proves to be as incapable in stemming racially motivated*

*crime and fascist political organization as the German governments of the 1930s and today, then the unthinkable resurgence of organized Nazism may be literally at our doorstep. The unfortunate excesses of the June 11th rally may be cause for some concern, but it does not begin to compare in significance or gravity with such an eventuality."*

- Roger Hollander, Metro Councillor

*"It is the Heritage Front, Church of the Creator and other racist groups that have carried on a violent campaign of intimidation over the last several months - all the while proclaiming their virtue....Anti-racists are responding to a wave of violence created by racists. While the merits and demerits of property damage can be debated, it is far from the deadly and physical violence of the Front."*

- Rodney Bobiwash, Klanbusters

It was interesting in that the most vociferous opposition and denunciation of ARA after June 11th came from more progressive sectors of the community, mainly revolving (whether admitted or not) around the question of militancy.

This kind of criticism is an unfortunate tradition of the North American left. It seems that all too many are comfortable in supporting militancy everywhere but their own backyards. This tendency was certainly obvious in the response of the left to the development of armed organizations in the U.S. and Canada during the 1970s and 1980s. (See Ward Churchill's essay "Pacifism as Pathology" in *Issues in Radical Therapy* for an excellent analysis of this phenomenon.) Indeed, it seems pathetic commentary on the Canadian left (and on the level of self-policing done by Canadian progressive movements) that a bit of egg throwing and a few broken windows are seen as acts of violence. As was said to one ARA critic by a South Asian comrade, "It's only within the confines set by the white Canadian left that June 11th can be seen as a violent demonstration."

The unfortunate fact is that for most leftists in Canada, demonstrations have become social events. They are forums for people to come together, meet their friends, chat while the speeches are going on and then leave in groups for the nearest bar after (and often before) the demo has finished. ARA's demonstrations consciously challenge this comfortable norm by being actively confrontational.

ARA recognizes that doing anti-fascist work is unlike most other political struggles in the Canadian context (outside of Native Territory) in that there is a very real element of physical retaliation - in this case by nazis. Rather than choose the easy path of staging irrelevant picket lines which present no threat to fascist organizing, ARA chooses to take the fight right to the nazis - in the schools, in nazi socializing places, at their meetings, at their homes. Because of this strategy, ARA demonstrations cannot be social events because of the need for the security.

Unlike any other organizations in the city, ARA demonstrators march in ranks with their arms linked to help strengthen the formation and ensure that there are no people left isolated and vulnerable - to police intimidation, arrest, nazi attack, or fascist surveillance. ARA also takes a defensive marshalling strategy. While most Canadian demonstrations have marshals in place to protect property from demonstrators so that their cause is not "discredited" by the actions of some "unruly elements", ARA's marshals are there to protect the body of the demonstration against attack - whether that comes from the nazis or police. The marshals are also there to prevent surveillance from fascists (who, as elsewhere, like to show up and videotape and photograph anti-racists).

Some critics denounced ARA for allowing such expressions of militancy to occur at all - for not holding back activists who felt the need to take more direct forms of action. In a community statement issued by ARA to respond to such critiques it was stated:

*"During the demonstration, some anti-racist protestors struck back against Gary Schipper and the Heritage Front. Paint bombs and rocks were thrown at his residence and windows were broken. Although these acts of vandalism were not planned by ARA, our group allows people to express their anger against fascism and white supremacy as they see fit. We do not police anti-racists."*

In the aftermath of the demonstration, four anti-racists were arrested on charges of mischief to property and disguising with the intention of committing an indictable offense. The arrests of the four did not occur on the site of the demonstration but happened arbitrarily over the ensuing two weeks. One woman was arrested at a local radio station after representing ARA on a call-in show. Two others were picked-up while attending a subsequent anti-racist demonstration. Despite being arrested on different dates and in different parts of the city, all four were picked up by the same two undercover officers, indicating a coordinated police effort to identify and target ARA activists.

The bail conditions imposed on the four were clearly politically

motivated and intended to curtail their anti-racist activism. The initial conditions (most of which have since been changed through legal challenges) included non-association with other members of ARA; barring from attendance at ARA or other anti-racist meetings; and barring from attendance at any demonstration in the entire province of Ontario. These conditions are more restrictive than those given to Heritage Front and COTC members charged with aggravated assault, forcible confinement and weapons offenses.

The action against Schipper's house on June 11th occurred as a direct response to an escalation of fascist violence and public organizing. As such, the action succeeded in accomplishing several goals, both through the demo itself and the resulting nazi tactical mistake made in response - namely attempting the mass assault against ARA people later that evening. The assault attempt failed miserably on two levels: 1) the fascists were humiliated in their attempt to boost morale and look tough after being fooled by a classic "bait and switch" and 2) it resulted in the arrests of two key Front leaders. The main effects of the day's events was to force the nazis to turn their organizing inward rather than towards expansion. Planned summer recruiting drives were put on hold due to the legal restrictions placed on some of their key activists following their arrests. Funding for a planned national summer tour by RaHoWa and the opening of a public office space was eaten up by bail costs and lawyer fees.

Despite the critiques of some about June 11th action, this single event and its aftermath was responsible for the significant decrease in fascist activity and violence during the past four months.

## Policing The Crisis?

As always, the role of the police and the intervention of state agencies within a political struggle is multi-faceted and often difficult to negotiate both internally and externally in the broader movement. This is no less true in anti-fascist organizing in Toronto. An analysis of the police approach to the movements, both racist and anti-racist, is essential to begin to develop effective strategies.

While the problem of police interference in political organizing is not a new one, it must be understood that the police play a particular dynamic within the context of anti-fascist work which is quite different than in other struggles. This is because in other progressive or radical movements, the question of involving the police as a potential "ally" within the struggle is non-existent. Whether it is organizing around such issues of institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia or domestic and foreign policies of the Canadian government, it is clearly recognized that the police as an institution play no potential positive role in advancing the cause.

This is unfortunately not the case with anti-fascist organizing. The activities of neo-nazi groups are by definition violent, whether through actual physical attacks or by the implied threat which their presence presents to those communities which have historically been targets of fascism. Their organizing also involves illegal activities, from relatively minor incidents of vandalism to more serious acts of violence including assault, arson, paramilitary training and murder. Because of this reality, many anti-racists see the police as an option against neo-nazis.

This double vision with regards to the police is both problematic and dangerous. While most are quick to recognize police violence and direct hostility, as was demonstrated during the demonstration on January 25th (with the exception elements of the "legitimate" and conservative anti-racist movement), there remains a strong trend which looks towards legal "remedies" for white supremacy. This trend takes the form not only of desires for stronger laws against hate group activities, but in particular looking towards police for protection.

The willingness to look to police as a strategy usually falls along clear lines of race and class. Certainly those individuals and communities who have not traditionally suffered at the hands of police are more likely to view them as "protectors" rather than oppressors. Therefore it has usually been the anti-racist groups representing these privileged interests which have been urging residents to call police when they encounter racist activity in their community. One Ontario government anti-racism organization has even gone so far as to publish a pamphlet which argues the "call police" strategy while printing on the cover a photo of ARA's January 25th demonstration (without permission, I might add) where mounted police attacked anti-racists to protect neo-nazis.

However, one need only look at the police's attitudes and actions to date to see quite clearly that they are much more interested in attacking and criminalizing anti-racists than they are neo-nazis. While the mounted police attack against ARA and police assault of AIM members on January 25th is the most blatant example of this, we can go further in revealing the clear pattern of police indifference to fascist attacks.

The most obvious aspect of the police approach is the clear double-

standard used in investigating nazis and anti-racists. The police have demonstrated time and time again their desire to shelter Wolfgang Droege and the Heritage Front as an organization from the supposedly "random" and "unconnected" acts of their supporters. In the two most violent incidents to date, the 1992 bombing of the Toronto Morgentaler abortion clinic and the 1993 firebombing of Youthlink, the police have allowed Droege's denials of HF involvement to stand at face value.

In the Morgentaler case, neo-nazi graffiti stating "Peace, Love & White Power" along with the Heritage Front's telephone number was painted on a large wall directly across the street from the bombed clinic. The graffiti was done sometime between 1:00am and 4:00am (the approximate time of the blast) on the night of the bombing. The connection to most would seem quite clear. However, the media revealed that police investigators interviewed Droege and essentially accepted his claim that the Heritage Front was not involved.

Over a year later, police have still not made any arrests despite admitting in the press that the perpetrators were videotaped by the clinic's security system. Certainly the history of state and police attacks against the left reveals that a similar set of circumstances involving a right-wing or government target would have resulted in mass repression. In that case, it seems that if Droege were a leftist he would have been answering questions from a jail cell, assumed guilty until proven innocent. In a similar manner, Droege was allowed to shrug off any involvement or responsibility for the arson attack at Youthlink. While admitting to a Toronto magazine that the Heritage Front did wage a lesbophobic campaign against the shelter on their hotline, he says that his group had no hand in nor responsibility for the attack. Again this claim to be "uninvolved" has apparently been accepted by the police, who are choosing to ignore a months long, sophisticated and coordinated campaign of harassment and surveillance of the shelter and its employees. This clearly was not the work of a "lone nut", and the police's apparent readiness to accept it as such is yet another demonstration of their unwillingness to go after the fascists as organizations but instead to individualize attacks which are clearly coordinated. Police have even refused to fully investigate the assaulting of a Youthlink staffer by skinheads, choosing instead to charge the woman herself for filing a false complaint!

In each case, "investigators" seem unwilling or uninterested in uncovering connections and links to the Heritage Front or other organizations, but prefer to operate on the basis that the perpetrator is acted in isolation. Yet, at the same time as they shrug off interest in the hierarchy and organizational structure of the Right, the police seem quite interested in identifying such areas in the anti-racist movement.

In fact, instead of being committed to prosecuting neo-nazis, it has been the pattern to date that the police have a much greater interest in investigating ARA. The placement (and later expulsion) of a known agent provocateur early in the organization's life was one indication of state intentions towards the group (a provocateur who now spends his time spreading accusations of homophobia and queer-bashing against ARA in an attempt to drive wedges between the group and the lesbian and gay community, a community from which ARA has drawn some of its strongest participation and support). Subsequent events involving the actual prosecution of a high profile Heritage Front spokesperson have been even more revealing. This case has demonstrated concretely that any move by anti-racists to lay charges or make reports to police merely opens the door for police intelligence gathering on the organization and its membership.

Elisse Hategan (aka Deschner) faces trial in June 1993 on charges of inflammatory libel against a local anti-racist and distributing hate literature. She is being accused of distributing the earlier mentioned racist flyer intended to paint an anti-racist activist as a nazi. Interestingly, the police "investigation" of Hategan, as evidenced through their interviews of other anti-racists called as witnesses in the case, has consisted primarily of police attempts to obtain the names of other anti-racist activists and trace structures and chains of communication within the movement. [Editor's Note: Hategan's trial was moved to November 1993 and at that time it was revealed that she had left the Heritage Front and was giving information about that organization to anti-racist groups. She will also testify against HF members in some of their upcoming trials.]

The case itself provides an ideal cover for such a ruse, for it gives the police authority to subpoena anti-racists and interview them about their work while hiding such probing behind the facade of "prosecuting hate crimes". In fact, it is the suspicion of many that the recent creation of the much publicized "Hate Crimes Unit" within the Metro Police is in itself nothing more than a cover to gather intelligence on the anti-racist movement.

Hategan has been allowed to associate with known members of the Heritage Front in direct contravention of her bail conditions. In fact, in one incident she appeared at an ARA demonstration in a car with known

leaders of the Heritage Front and COTC. This situation was immediately noticed by Rodney Bobiwash of the Native Centre. Knowing that the violation should immediately result in her re-arrest and revocation of bail, he notified the officer commanding the police presence at the demonstration, who replied "I don't care." This incident speaks volumes to the reluctance of the police to truly prosecute neo-nazis and to the illegitimacy of the police investigation against Hategan.

The interviewing and subpoenaing of activists continues despite the fact that Hategan has apparently admitted to distributing the flyer and will presumably pursue a defence based on freedom of speech. It is also significant that by calling anti-racists as witnesses, and thereby revealing their identities to the court and to the nazis, the police are knowingly opening up these individuals for harassment.

The conjecture is that such a decision is calculated to place these individuals in jeopardy so that the police can 1) gather intelligence on the fascists by using the anti-racists as "bait", and 2) hope that individuals will turn to the police for protection, thereby creating an opportunity for further intelligence gathering on the anti-racist movement.

These suspicions were reinforced during the pre-trial hearing in October when Hategan's attorney cross examined one of the anti-racist witnesses. Lawyer Harry Doan (who is defending most of the nazis facing charges in the city) spent most of his time asking questions about ARA's organizing - the names of activists, the names of the organizers of the January 25th and June 11th demonstrations, etc. While obviously unrelated to the charges against Hategan, the Crown prosecutor did not object to this line of questioning. The witness was unable to provide Doan with the information he wanted.

Unfortunately, the unwillingness of some to see use of the police as being at best a tactical decision in certain situations rather than a parental-type figure to protect us from bullies is problematic and dangerous. Indeed, people who will go to the police out of trust and reformist beliefs in the system are dangerous for any radical organization which constitutes itself in opposition to that very system. These are often the people who will, perhaps unwittingly, do the job of the police by speaking openly about membership and strategies in some misguided sense that the police, while problematic on some levels, are allies against the nazis. The evidence to date shows us exactly the opposite.

## When Opportunism Knocks

Because of the early successes of ARA, the organization inevitably sparked the interest of various Trotskyist and Marxist/Leninist political parties who began to flock to ARA like moths to a bright light. Unfortunately, it soon became obvious that most were involved not to work honestly against the neo-nazi presence in Toronto but instead to forward the goals of their own organizations.

As has been the experience of many groups who have tried to do political work around various issues, the presence of these party organizations soon becomes an obstacle to building the organization as a whole. The International Socialists in particular played a prominent role in opposing every demonstration (except one) that was ever undertaken by

ARA against the far right, while at the same time trying to push through their own proposals which better suited the ends of their party. This behaviour was later discovered to be in keeping with their own political mandate to provide "revolutionary leadership" to organizations of "movementists", who while presumably understanding their own issue, did not have the same vision and understanding of the party on how defeat the state.

Eventually, after several months of attempting to work in good faith, the International Socialists was voted out of ARA by a 2/3 majority of ARA members. This had the result of causing all the other Trotskyist and Marxist-Leninist parties to leave the group en masse in support of the I.S. While this on the whole was positive in that it saved ARA the similarly obstructionist and opportunist behaviour of the other groups, such as the Trotskyist League and the Bolshevik Tendency, it also caused the loss of a few individual comrades who had risen above their party's dogma to do principled and solid work within ARA.

IS attempts to denounce ARA did not cease after their expulsion, but continue in various forms. During the Ottawa demonstration in May, it was the IS contingent who actively collaborated with the police against militant demonstrators. IS marshal tipped off the cops to an attempt by ARA and other anti-racists to rush past police lines to get closer to the building where the nazi concert was being held. This tip off resulted in many of those demonstrators on the front lines being hit with pepper spray by police.

Later the IS marshal purposefully split the demonstration by declaring "victory" because the cops told them that the concert was going to be shut down. This declaration over the megaphones, coupled with the herding of the participants by IS marshal, caused more than half of the demonstrators to leave the site. Many anti-racists refused to acknowledge that any such victory existed when the sounds of the nazi bands playing could clearly be heard even outside the building. This cowardly decision to split the demonstration (and the fact that the ARA contingent of 50 who had stayed behind at the site were forced to leave at 11:00pm to catch the bus back to Toronto) left the few dedicated Ottawa activists vulnerable to the brutal skinhead attack which followed.

Before the June 11th demonstration, the IS had made plans to cause a disturbance at the gathering site by demanding that ARA organizers reveal the secret destination of the demonstration (this despite the fact that all the advertising for the action made it clear that, while the demonstration would be going to a neo-nazi centre of operations, the actual destination would not be known until the group arrived there). After the demonstration, in a move reminiscent of COINTELPRO-style tactics, the IS took part in drafting a letter condemning ARA for the "violence" of the June 11th action - a letter to which they signed the names of several organizations who, upon being contacted by ARA, had never heard of such a letter and who did not support the statements within it.

Unfortunately, it was not only groups within ARA who have demonstrated similar opportunist and patronizing attitudes towards the organization. While some in the broader left see the formation and effectiveness of ARA as a positive development, at the same time they dismiss the relevancy of anti-fascist work and maintain that ARA should be focusing on "more important" issues, which themselves vary depending upon the personal political priorities of the person being critical.

This attitude was also the basis for much of the internal problems with the International Socialists and others, who saw broader organizing against the police and the racist policies of the state as being the priority. It is unfortunate that in this way some of the most damaging attacks against the nascent anti-fascist movement have come not from the traditional enemies in the state and on the Right, but from the left itself - many



more concerned with maintaining a level of "revolutionary chic" rather than doing the work necessary to forge grassroots political movements.

It is the position of many radicals that anti-fascist work is in itself irrelevant because of the relative lack of power and numbers which the neo-nazi movement commands in Canada at this time. These comrades see state and police racism as the arenas where opposition should be directed, and that "chasing nazis" is an exercise in irrelevancy. However well intended, and correct as far as its analysis of institutionalized racism, this perspective is at its base short-sighted and self-defeating.

It is argued that without the sea of mainstream racism in which to swim, that fascists and fascist movements cannot survive. Therefore, the conclusion becomes that doing work against neo-nazis is beginning at the wrong end of the problem. Again, this is a compelling argument in isolation, particularly because it is theoretically accurate. However, theoretical accuracy does not always lend itself to practical and effective political action. As was stated by Italian anti-fascist Errico Malatesta in early part of the century, "The optimum is the enemy of the good" - the never-ending search for the perfect political action all too often serves as an excuse for doing nothing at all. Indeed, if the anti-racist movement in Toronto cannot strategize and mobilize effectively enough to eliminate a couple of hundred nazis, how can we realistically expect to be able to defeat racist immigration laws and police violence and other institutional monoliths?

Unfortunately, much of this criticism fails to learn from history, even recent history. As was pointed out by a Sri Lankan comrade who spent a year in Germany as a refugee in the late 1980s, the German left chose to ignore the neo-nazi movement at a moment when it was relatively small. At a time when 100,000 people would come out to a disarmament demonstration, little or no attention was being given to the "insignificant" fascist problem. Five years later, we see the terrifying results of allowing that movement to grow unopposed. Events such as Rostock, murderous and violent attacks on refugees and guest workers, and the assassination of anti-fascists are not spontaneous, but are the culmination of years of unhindered organizing. Unfortunately much of the left in Canada has chosen to ignore this lesson.

While we can take all the time we want to formulate the perfect political line and theorize the precise political moment to act, in the meantime what work has been done towards building the movements that will presumably act at that moment? Political process, political experience, and resolve to struggle come only through work, and unfortunately discussion is no substitute for action. How do we expect to inspire people after more than a decade of stunning and crushing defeats for progressive and revolutionary movements around the world?

It has to be understood that broad-based and effective political movements do not appear spontaneously, but are the result of years of struggle. This work, if it is to be realistic and successful, must begin by setting upon manageable goals and taking small victories where they can be won. It is out of the crucible of small victories - which provide experience and inspiration to a movement - that larger victories are possible.

## Race And Resistance

An underlying basis for much of the criticism is the fact that ARA, with notable exceptions, is comprised primarily by white, working class youth. Criticism comes from both radicals of colour, who are skeptical of white radical organizations, and from other white radicals, who essentially believe that white people have no place initiating anti-racist work.

Both criticisms are a concern if we truly hope to forge working links against racism in society. The first criticism is certainly legitimate given the history of much of the white left in North America and Europe with replicating systems of racism and class privilege within their organizing. Indeed these problems were a significant contributor to the downfall of radical white movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

These concerns cannot be ignored, yet can be overcome through consistent and principled work, an openness to constructive criticism from people of colour, and willingness to create political alliances not based on an ill-considered integrationist approach. Ultimately this skepticism, if accepted as being legitimate and worked on in good faith, can provide the basis for a politically stronger and mutually respectful relationship, and therefore the foundations for an effective broad-based movement.

It will be the links with radicals of colour, built upon respect gained from a history of principled political work, which can prove to be the strongest and therefore most reliable in a crisis. It has been the demand of some Trotskyist/Marxist-Leninist parties involved with ARA that the organization go out and recruit people of colour to lead the organization. However, this appeal to recruitment and "building a party" is in itself both self-serving and opportunistic. The way to attract more people of colour to the organization, which is indeed a critical and significant goal, must be accomplished through principled political work and an honesty

about motivation. People who come into any political organization must be there because they see opportunity, promise, and the possibilities of doing effective work in that organization.

Indeed, merely recruiting people of colour into an organization is a eurocentric, tokenistic approach which ultimately replicates systems of racism in the broader society. Recruitment not only contains an implied hierarchy but also a passivity on the part of those being recruited, which often results in the involvement of people who will be amenable to the party platform, rather than those who want to come in and challenge it for the better. It seems that the latter is always preferable if an organization is sincere about building itself politically and personally. A predominantly white anti-racist group must always be willing to challenge itself on its own racism, and a recruitment based party politic is not an effective means of doing that.

The second criticism is a concern only as much as it is centred in what is essentially a guilt-based politic. For white people to simply defer to people of colour to initiate action around issues of racism is to fundamentally deny both individual and collective historical responsibility for oppression. The effective way to take responsibility for racism is not to sit around and feel guilty and do nothing, but to work against racism in the white community. As former Black Panther Party leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad stated in a lecture in Toronto, "Racism is not a problem Black people have. It's a problem that white people have."

In fact, this is why the make-up of ARA should be seen as an advantage rather than a detriment. While older white leftists may not see the relevancy of white youth, the fascists certainly do and have made the high schools a major political battle ground. The fact that youth of all races are alienated and ignored by society is well accepted, yet until recently it was only the nazis who were capitalizing on this disenchantment to recruit among young white people. Many white radicals have chosen to ignore some of the most important lessons on the role of white people in anti-racist work as articulated by some of the most militant and articulate Black leaders, such as Assata Shakur and Angela Davis.

Such a role was articulated by Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton in their book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*:

*"One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters has been that they are reluctant to go into their own communities - which is where racism exists - and work to get rid of it... It is hoped that eventually there will be a coalition of poor Blacks and poor whites... creating a poor-white power block dedicated to the goals of a free, open society - not one based on racism and subordination... The main responsibility of this task falls upon whites... Poor white people are becoming more hostile - not less - toward Black people, partly because they see the nation's attention focused on Black poverty and few, if any, people coming to them... Only whites can mobilize and organize those communities along the lines necessary and possible for effective alliances with Black communities... If the job is to be done, there must be new forms created. Thus, the political modernization process must involve the white community as well as the Black."*

The fact that intelligent, articulate and radical young people are working against the recruitment in their schools, and using the nazi presence as an opportunity to get their peers involved and politically educated around broader issues of racism and oppression should be supported rather than criticized. That fact that many bring with them a distrust and disenchantment with "traditional" forms of protest and modes of political organizing is also instructional to those willing to listen and learn. Unfortunately the distrust of Leninist party organizing, disdain for meaningless picketlines in front of faceless buildings, and desire to incorporate cultural elements of resistance into political work are all challenges to the current leftist hierarchies in the city, and many choose to dismiss ARA based upon the threat which such a perspective poses to their own relative positions of authority. Far too many leftists see young people as cannon fodder, or sheep to be herded in particular directions, rather than as equal partners in political struggle who bring much needed critique, analysis and enthusiasm to the work.

In their argument against doing anti-nazi work, these critics also misunderstand some of the most basic principles of political organizing. It must be recognized that people are not effectively organized out of guilt but out of recognition of their own interest in change. Again to quote Ture and Hamilton, we must move beyond the false "assumption that political coalitions can be sustained on a moral, friendly, sentimental basis; by appeals to conscience." Such an approach does nothing to expose and identify structures of privilege, and can all too easily lead to political dissolution. To Ture and Hamilton, viable political coalitions stem from "the recognition of the parties involved of their respective self-interests...[and]...the mutual belief that each party stands to benefit in terms of that self-interest from allying with the other or others."

Young white people are at this time facing recruitment by nazi

groups, dealing with nazi gangs in their schools and socializing places, and seeing their friends, white and non-white, being attacked by skin-heads. Therefore, anti-nazi organizing speaks directly to their experiences and political needs. Obviously, political education and activism cannot stop with concern over one's own needs, but it has to start there. The birth of ARA provides the opportunity to involve a new generation of activists in anti-racist work and in radical political organizing. It provides the political support for white working class youth to organize themselves around issues of racism and oppression, which presents the opportunity of radicalizing a generation of activists. This is the promise of groups such as ARA, and the long term vision which many of its critics on the left are unwilling to see.

## Moving The Movement

The terrain for developing action against the far right is a constantly changing one. The constraints at this point in time are wholly different than they were in the fall of 1992, and the movement must take this into account if it is to continue to grow and be successful. Actions which were possible during the initial phase of ARA activity are more difficult or impossible to organize successfully today. This is primarily the result of preparedness on the part of the fascists. We have to remember that before the Roma demo, the nazis had not experienced a street level response of any magnitude or intensity. This led them to a feeling of security in regards to their activity vis a vis general meetings. While expecting some degree of infiltration perhaps, they were not ready for a militant presence of several hundred to converge on their meeting place.

It was the very fact that they were not expecting nor prepared for such a response that in many ways made a successful demonstration possible. The Heritage Front at that time was less secure with information regarding time and place for their meetings, allowing the date and time of the meeting to be disseminated several days before the meeting and the location to be given to their members as much as twenty-four hours beforehand. This time frame allowed ARA to receive the information in enough time to distribute posters and organize demonstrations.

Subsequent to the Roma demonstration, the Heritage Front has kept meeting details secret until as little as a few hours before the meeting, then notifying their supporters via telephone. With this new security practice, the HF has significantly curtailed the ability of anti-racists to mobilize in sufficient numbers to again confront them at their meetings. This fact highlights two specific needs for ARA's continued viability, 1) differentiation of tactics, and 2) the need for better intelligence.

ARA needs to again be creative in its approach to mobilizing against the fascists. To maintain an approach based solely around mass demonstrations is obviously destructive at a moment when the nazis, through their own security measures, have effectively shut off much of that opportunity. One of the advantages which ARA has always had contributing to the militancy and excitement around their demonstrations is the existence of a visible and identifiable enemy. The best ARA actions to date have come when anti-racists were actually facing down nazis in the streets. However, if the fascists can effectively conceal their gatherings, then the opportunity to go face-to-face with them is gone. The element of surprise, of agency, goes from the anti-racists to the racists, who will be the ones determining when and where they will gather publicly and will therefore be expecting confrontation (as well as police protection).

If the chance of going head-to-head is diminished if not lost, then an over-emphasis on mass mobilization will force ARA back onto the path of demonstrating in front of faceless targets, exactly the thing to which the organization worked to develop alternatives. Necessity, then, demands creativity, and the need to devise strategies for both gathering better intelligence and staging effective actions using smaller numbers.

The most important work to be done, however, lies not within the right but within the left. Unfortunately, it is the left at this moment which poses the major obstacle to the growth of an effective anti-racist movement. The institutionalization of progressive Canadian politics and the visible disdain for the work of ARA and other anti-fascist organizations needs to be addressed openly. The left has to begin to move from its current position of attempting to organize along ideological lines, and instead return to a grassroots approach which speaks directly to people's experiences.

We are unfortunately at a political moment when the only people doing real grassroots organizing, particularly in the white community, are the fascists. They are the ones in the trenches, in the schools and workplaces, and they are capitalizing on institutional white supremacy to organize a growing, well-funded, internationally coordinated, and violent racist movement.

While defeating the neo-nazi movement in Canada is a relatively small task in comparison to defeating institutionalized white supremacy,

it is one which is crucial to address at this moment. The work of ARA in particular provides a basis from which many bigger things can emerge. The opportunity to involve young people in political organizing, particularly in a struggle which can show concrete short term gains and can and will inevitably be successful, can provide the inspiration and experience necessary to wage broader and longer term struggles.

— written Fall 1993



Following a string of victories which rapidly accelerated the agenda against organized fascism in Canada, ARA began to feel the effects of what seemed to be a loss of momentum for the group's activities. Having shut down the aboveground organizing efforts of the Toronto-based extreme right, the opportunities for ARA to meet the enemy head-on in the streets became increasingly few and far between. Since some of ARA's best events were those that faced down fascists in the streets and sent them running, some serious strategizing had to take place to determine how the struggle be best kept on the fore in changing conditions. ARA's base of support and broader left saw the fascist threat as having been taken care of by ARA or in the case of the broader left, not worthy of attention in the first place. On top of this, ARA soon realized that the police forces had adapted their methods of responding to ARA actions and proved more than a match for ARA's strength on the streets.

As highlighted in the final section of the *On The Prowl* document, *Moving The Movement*, ARA clearly had to concentrate its energies on two specific needs, vital to the group's useful existence: "1) differentiation of tactics, and 2) the need for better intelligence". The fascists were now fully aware that they would get trounced if they acted publicly, so their level of security was at an all-time high. Without having to chance a face-to-face confrontation with its opponents, the fascists would go on determining for themselves how the shots would be called. Once the fascists have reached the point where they can set the agenda, they control their own futures. This is what is currently happening. Anti-fascist struggle has paled in significance, allowing the fascists to get on with what they perceive to be their main focus for attention. The extreme right in Canada has doubled back to organize in a broader arena, maintaining its manipulation of the deep-rooted racism within the white working class. The right-wing upsurge and political backlash currently flaring up in North America demands that radical opposition be formulated to provide concrete alternatives to the 'radical solutions' of the fascists and their far right constituents. This means driving the fascists from these areas and forwarding solutions to capitalist exploitation while at the same time, working to root racism from white working class communities. An enormous task not to be taken lightly. But an organized working class movement allied with the internal national liberation movements is the only long-term solution to this influence of fascism in North America. The outmoded conservative left who make up the mainstay of many anti-racist, 'anti-hate' lobby groups in North America can comfortably do nothing in the face of an increasingly-organized fascist movement. As a mainly single-issue action group, ARA's strength was formulated by militants concentrating on kicking the fascists out of the places they were recruiting in and working with common allies in those areas to do so. Today, the fascists are recruiting mainly from working class communities which have yet to experience genuine support from the left or the so-called radical anti-racists. Proactive anti-fascist politics and action must be built up to swing people away from right-wing influence and demonstrate that the struggle stands for something as well as standing against another. Clearly, political as well as tactical issues demand the attention of anti-fascists in the area.

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— Antifa Forum, 1996

# ANTI-FASCIST iNFO



ANTI-FASCIST INFO (AFi) is a group of people, some currently defendants on charges arising from anti-fascist demonstrations, with the aim of gathering and distributing information on the extreme right in Canada.

Our goals are to raise consciousness about extreme right organizations, their activities, perspectives and ideologies. Through this, we want to enable anti-fascists to better organize against the extreme right, particularly in times of growth and action by fascist groups. We also want to raise consciousness about current, and possibly future, trials of anti-fascist defendants.

## WHAT IS THE 'EXTREME RIGHT'?

By extreme right, we mean not only openly fascist groups such as Aryan Nations, Aryan Resistance Movement or the fascistized- Ku Klux Klan. The extreme right also consists of a variety of organizations who, at the very least, advocate maintaining and strengthening a patriarchal and white supremacist society. Such organizations can go under seemingly "inoffensive" titles as Citizens for Foreign Aid Review, the Canadian League of Rights or the Canadian Association for the Freedom of Expression. They generally focus on single issues such as immigration, freedom of expression, etc., to make their cause appealing to those who would not be "comfortable" being affiliated to out-right fascist groups. These organizations deny that they are white supremacist, instead using code-words such as "European heritage" or "non-traditional immigration" to convey their vision of an all-white Canada. The extreme right also consists of individuals who are members of mainstream political parties, such as those recently exposed in the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberal Party, and of course the Reform Party. Members of Aryan Nations, in contrast, will announce openly that they are white supremacist and fascist. To distinguish between these two approaches of the extreme right, groups which are openly fascist are termed 'radical right', while those that cloak their true intentions are termed 'fringe right'.

Whether fringe or radical, the extreme right as a whole shares similar beliefs: white supremacy, anti-semitism, homophobia, anti-immigration, anti-abortion, anti-feminism and anti-communism, to name but a few of the most common themes.

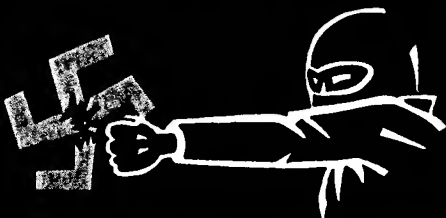
In short, the extreme right is a complex web of interconnected groups and philosophies operating through both openly-fascist organizations and front groups focusing on a single issue. It's this web we aim to expose and, through anti-fascist information, enable people to better defend themselves against the extreme right's oppressive agenda.

## WHY ANTI-FASCIST INFO?

AFi does not advocate replacing actions against fascist activities with distributing information. Broad-based community organizing encompassing a variety of tactics has shown to be the most effective response to fascist and extreme right movements. AFi does not place itself outside of this work. Rather, we are responding to the actual situation in Vancouver, and a need for documentation of the extreme right.

The history of extreme right movements shows that they experience cyclical growths and declines, caused by factors such as social and economic conditions- as well as community resistance. In any case, it would be a

**DESTROY FASCISM!**



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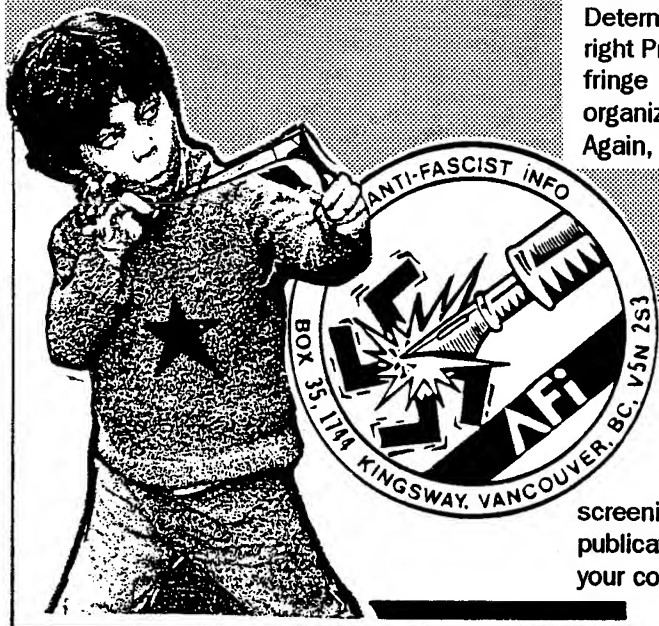




mistake to believe that because fascist groups are not visible, or have been defeated in the streets, that they have been destroyed. In reality, they are in a state of reorganizing. For example, in Vancouver the extreme right experienced a period of growth from 1980-83, which manifested itself in an increased KKK presence, vandalism and violence against people of colour, gays, lesbians, Jews and leftist organizations. Defeated by community organizing and internal conflicts, former members of the Klan were again active in 1988-89 when the Aryan Nations and the Aryan Resistance Movement became the new focus for extreme right activities, joining with younger fascist skinheads. Communities targeted by this new phase of violence were placed on the defensive, while at the same time they were forced to learn who and what the Aryan Nations were. AFI exists to counter such trends, doing the necessary background work to enable people to carry on real social change while not being caught off-guard in times of fascist offensives.

In other parts of Canada, the extreme right has been more successful in organizing. In Toronto, the Heritage Front has brought together various organizations such as the Church of the Creator, fascist skinheads etc., and has been able to organize concerts, public rallies, a telephone 'hate'-line, and produce literature which has been distributed in Toronto-area high schools. A clear result of this is the June 7/93 attack on a Tamil man, Ganalan Muthulingam, by fascist skinheads. Muthulingam died three days later. There have been other vicious attacks on people of colour by fascists in Toronto. In Montreal, fascist skinheads are believed responsible for several attacks on gay men, some of these resulting in death. At least one such murder, the November 29/92 killing of Yves Lalonde, has been attributed to fascist skinheads, who are presently awaiting trial. In Saskatchewan, an Aryan Nations leader, Carney Nerland, is presently serving a four year prison term for shooting and killing Leo Lachance, a Cree Indian, on January 28/91 (Nerland said to police that he should get a medal for "shooting that Indian". Despite his extreme right background, Nerland's white supremacist views were said to not be relevant. He was subsequently charged and convicted for manslaughter!).

Fascists are not marching down the streets of Vancouver, but it doesn't mean they are not organizing and preparing for another phase of activity. In January of 1993, the Canadian Liberty Net attempted to organize a public speech by Tom Metzger, leader of the California-based White Aryan Resistance. Determined action by anti-fascists shut this meeting down. In May, the fringe right Procult Institute held a meeting for the Canadian league of Rights, another fringe right group, characterized as "perhaps Canada's leading anti-Semitic organization today". Also in attendance were members of the Aryan Nations. Again, anti-fascists were able to seriously disrupt the meeting.



We plan on carrying out our work by organizing events such as video screenings and public discussions, and by producing leaflets, posters and other publications. Because we are a non-funded group, our work will rely heavily on your contributions, as well as participation.

## Solidarity for the Autonome Antifa (M)

The largest trial against autonomist antifascists in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany is scheduled to begin on August 14, 1996. 17 antifascist activists from Göttingen, in southern Lower Saxony, will be tried for being members of the Autonome Antifa (M), charged with being a criminal organisation according to Paragraph 129. This law is intended to fight organized crime, similar to the RICO laws in the United States.

The expenses levied against the antifascists for lawyers and travel costs are estimated at over 4 million DM - roughly 2.5 million dollars! The outcome of the trials could mean the criminalization of the Autonome Antifa (M) and the restriction of other legally organized political work, including demonstrations and other forms of grassroots politics. A guilty verdict would set a precedence and could sharply confine antifascist resistance and make political work outside the confines of electoral politics vulnerable to new forms of repression.

In the Spring of this year the AA(M) conducted a speaking tour across North America to shed light on their case. In the spirit of antifascist solidarity, a defense fund has been set up here to give them an arm of support.

Contact Antifa Forum for further information.



July 16, 1994 - demonstration with 3500 participants after house searches aimed at the Autonomen Antifa (M) - "Stop state terrorism - fight back!"

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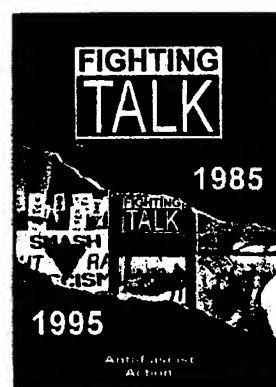
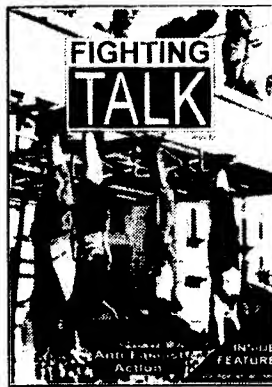
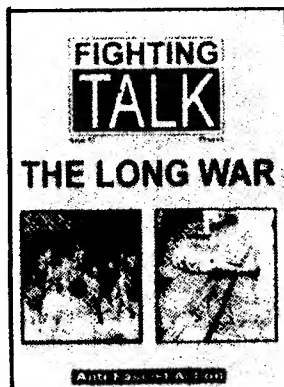
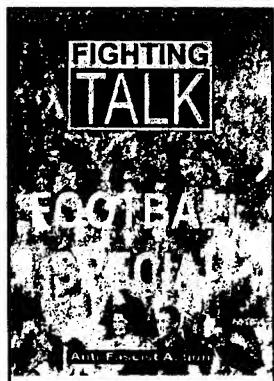
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AFIB is an informational resource and networking tool for activists and researchers. Its purpose is to provide up to date information on the plethora of clerical fascist, Patriot, far-right, racist, anti-Semitic, Klan and neo-Nazi organizations active throughout Europe and North America. AFIB will also reveal the links among these reactionary outfits and their masters within international state security agencies and the corporate world.

To subscribe to this antifascist news digest, send a message to: [tburghardt@igc.apc.org](mailto:tburghardt@igc.apc.org)

Back-issues of the Antifa Info-Bulletin can be obtained via:

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